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WHAT WAS ELOCUTION?

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FEW young women appreciate being referred to as *hussies;* nor would many of us be willing to admit that we are teachers of *elocution.* Yet both of these words have come down to us from terms that were once perfectly respectable, which were not accompanied by the unfortunate connotations, even denotations, that characterize them now. It will be my thesis in the present paper that the latter of these two words, elocution, once signifying a perfectly respectable concept in our field, referred entirely to, and was directed in its study toward, increasing the effectiveness of the spoken forms of discourse; that it was based entirely on what could be observed of natural modes of expression; and that the rules and principles by which that effectiveness could be improved were the result of a scientific approach to the objective observation, analysis, and generalizations which might be codified into a consistent and reliable corpus of elocutional theory; and finally, that the opprobrium heaped upon both theory and practice, at least so far as the originators of that theory, or those theories, may be concerned, has been undeserved.

It is not necessary to go into any discussion of the place held by *elocutio* in classical rhetoric. The change in meaning from style to delivery is generally thought to have been initiated by John Mason, in his *Essay On Elocution,* published in 1748. Thanks to the investigations of Howell, however, it has been shown to have begun about a hundred years prior to Mason's *Essay,* in John Wilkins' *Ecclesiastes, or, A discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching,* published in 1646.[1] In this "discourse" the term *elocution* is definitely used to refer to what the classical writers called *Actio* or *Pronuntiatio.* Wilkins observes that ". . . the most proper manner of eloquution is with modesty and gravity, which will best sute with our calling and businesse."

In 1657 a treatment of oratorical action, or the action of the orator, was

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[1] Wilbur Samuel Howell, "Sources of the Elocutionary Movement in England, 1700-1748," *QJS,* XLV (1959), 5.

published by Michel Le Faucheur, which was translated, according to Howell, in 1702 under the English title, *An Essay Upon the Action of an Orator: As to His Pronunciation & Gesture*. . . . In the text of this work the term *elocution* is used in the sense indicated in the title; it is also continued in later editions of the translation. It is this work that, as Howell points out, marks the formal beginning of the English elocutionary movement. Apparently, from then on, the term *elocution* was used more and more generally as referring to delivery rather than to style. By the middle of the eighteenth century John Mason could say, "I use the word Elocution here in it's common and vulgar (vernacular) sense, to signify *Utterance, Delivery,* or *Pronunciation,* in which Sense we frequently use it in the English language, and which its Latin etymology very well justifies. . . ."[2]

My first point is that the term *elocution,* as it was used throughout the eighteenth and for three quarters of the nineteenth centuries, was generally related to the delivery of spoken discourse, and the texts which were written during that period were primarily concerned with improvement in the effectiveness of such delivery. No doubt excesses were introduced, but on the whole, the elocutionary movement arose to meet a need created by the neglect which had fallen upon the Fifth Canon in the rhetorical theory and practice of the time. It arose to meet a felt need for some attention to the presentation of the *content* of such discourse, and to make it more effective, for at that time there was no thought of making the separation between substance and form which later arose.

In 1553 Thomas Wilson had described in vivid language the glaring faults to be observed in the speaking of his day.[3] Two hundred years later Thomas Sheridan was still fulminating against the miserable state into which British speaking had degenerated. He cites a passage in the *Spectator* describing the deplorable manner, for example, of reading the liturgy.[4] Five years later, in 1761, James Burgh, considered by some to be the evil genius who foisted upon us the nefarious so-called "mechanical school" of elocution, was lamenting the ineffective speaking of the day, particularly that of the clergy. In emphasizing the importance of training in public speaking, he says, ". . . it is still of important advantage for all that part of youth, whose station places them within the reach of a *polite education,* to be qualified for aquitting themselves with reputation, when called to speak in public. In *parliament,* at the *bar,* in the *pulpit,* at meetings of merchants, in *committee* . . . a competent address and readiness, not only in finding matter but in expressing and urging it effectively is what, I doubt not, many a gentleman would willingly acquire at the expense of half his other improvements." It was Burgh also who raised the pointed query, "Of what use is a weapon without the skill to use it?"

Burgh offers the earliest clear statement that I have encountered concerning the place of delivery in speech, when he says, "What we mean does not so much depend upon the *words* we speak, as on our *manner* of speaking them." This statement seems to epitomize Burgh's philosophy regarding the necessity of training in elocution, which neither he nor anyone else of his time

[2] 4th ed., 1757.

[3] Cited by Warren Guthrie, "The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America, 1635-1850—V; The Elocutionary Movement—England." *SM,* XVIII (1951), 18.

[4] *Spectator,* Vol. II, No. 147. Cited in Thomas Sheridan, *British Education* (1756), p. 96.

related particularly to reading or to any other specific form of spoken discourse.

The following year, in 1762, Thomas Sheridan opened the first of his *Lectures on Elocution*, which had been delivered some years before, with the following words: "That a general inability to read, or to speak, with propriety and grace in public, runs thro' the natives of the British dominions, is acknowledged; it shews itself in our senates and churches, on the bench and at the bar."[5]

Evidently no form of speaking in either public or private was immune from the faults or from the need for improvement. The 1727 London edition of the work of Le Faucheur, referred to by Howell,[6] includes in the title, *Useful in the Senate or Theatre, the Court, the Camp, as well as the Bar and Pulpit*. It seems obvious that Le Faucheur's principal aim was improvement in the use of the voice and body to suit the audience, the subject, and the moods and "passions" to be expressed.

The significance of the term *elocution* as referring to the delivery of spoken discourse continued through the eighteenth and the greater part of the nineteenth centuries. In 1869 it was defined as "the art of expressing thought by speech."[7] Still later, in 1887, it was defined as "the Art of expressing thought and feeling by means of Voice and Action."[8] Among the courses taught at the University of Michigan when T. C. Trueblood started his department there in 1892, and for several years afterward, was one on elocution.

Such definitions can be found in abundance, indicating that elocution was, throughout a period of more than a century and a half, concerned with effective speaking, with the delivery of the spoken forms of discourse. This concern was equally relevant to the presentation of original material, to public reading, or to the enacting of a role on the stage. Murdoch was one of the prominent actors in America from his youth almost until his death; he was also a teacher of elocution for almost as long a time, but the two were not the same. Elocution was simply a means toward making the acting more effective. Similarly, Fanny Kemble and Charles Dickens were great readers, as were T. C. Trueblood and S. H. Clark. The last two were also teachers of elocution, but like Murdoch, they applied their knowledge of voice and action and their function in spoken discourse to make their own reading more effective. Macaulay is said to have taken a series of lessons in elocution before coming to America to lecture, in order to make his lectures more interesting.

In none of these early writings on elocution can one find even a suggestion that elocution could be thought of as an end in itself. It was from the beginning, as I have emphasized, directed toward the more effective presentation of thought and feeling; it was consistently associated with *content*—those elements of invention, disposition, and style which Howell so rightly emphasizes. But these very elements may be found as well in literature and drama as in oratory, and delivery or elocution was just as applicable to one as to another.

My second point is that in presenting their theories and principles of elocution, these early writers were, almost without exception, attempting to base those principles upon what they con-

[5] 1781 ed., p. 1.

[6] *Op. cit.* Howell points out that the "*Traitté* had been adapted to the uses of the theatre" long before 1727.

[7] Anna T. Randall, *Reading and Elocution: Theoretical and Practical* (New York), p. xiii.

[8] William T. Ross, *Voice Culture and Elocution* (New York), p. 1.

ceived to be the natural way of expressing ideas and feelings. It was upon the foundation of nature that they were trying to establish a rationale for the teaching and practice of delivery in spoken discourse, to give it a basis comparable to that which had been developing for two thousand years in the fields of invention, arrangement, and style. Although Quintilian insists that "nothing can be perfect, but where Nature is assisted by Art," he finds himself "candidly acknowledging, that Nature is far more effectual than Art in forming an Orator."[9]

In more recent times, John Mason, in 1748, definitely places the emphasis on natural methods; his motto, as Bert Emsley pointed out in his review of the *Essay*, was "Study nature!"[10] James Burgh's entire catalog of descriptions of the various "passions" is based on the principle that "Nature has given to every emotion of the mind its *proper* outward expression, in such manner, that what suits *one* cannot, by any means, be accommodated to *another*."[11] Sheridan, in his *Lectures on Elocution* points out as the natural manner of speaking, and the one toward which he is directing his efforts, that which occurs when people "in private company . . . deliver their sentiments with propriety and force in their manner, whenever they speak in earnest."[12] Reading, he says, is taught in "a different way, with different tones and cadences, from those we use in speaking; and this artificial manner, is used instead of the natural one, in all recitals and repetitions at school, as well as in reading."

Even John Walker, whose *Elements of Elocution*[13] is so full of "rules" that he has been credited with being one of the prime movers in the "mechanical school," has said, "Far be it from me . . . to imagine that any rules will supply the want of a good master. . . . The surest way to make [young people] read well, is to let them hear good reading, and to make them imitate as closely as they can. This is the plain simple path of nature, and never fails of success, if trod with assiduity and perseverance."[14]

T. C. Trueblood, who studied with James E. Murdoch, who in turn was a student of James Rush, insisted that there was nothing in the teaching of Rush which was not based on a study and observation of the phenomena of the voice as those phenomena occur in natural utterance.[15] Murdoch himself, Trueblood pointed out, was impossible to imitate because, following the teachings of Rush, he had nothing artificial or mechanical in his manner of acting.

I find very little in the writings of these originators of the theory of elocution to indicate that any of them were attempting to set up a system of rigid patterns into which all delivery was to be cast. It is for that reason that I take very little stock in the attempts to dichotomize the whole class of teachers and writers in the field of elocution as belonging to either the "mechanical" or the "natural" school. Such a dichotomizing is arbitrary, mechanical in itself, and productive of little genuine enlightenment as to the nature of early elocution. There were variations in emphasis, of course, but all those writers, so far as I have found, based their analyses on what they conceived to be observable in nature, and that would tend to put them into the "natural" school. And all of them gave some instruction

[9] *Institutes*, XI, 3.
[10] *QJS*, XXI (1935), 617.
[11] *The Art of Speaking*, 5th ed. (1782), p. 18.
[12] 1781 ed., p. 4.
[13] 2 Vols. (London, 1781). See Vol. 1 especially.
[14] John Walker, *A Rhetorical Grammar, or Course of Lessons in Elocution*, 2nd ed. (1787), pp. 1-2.
[15] Personal conference, March, 1943.

in how to achieve the effects which had been derived from nature.

To give instruction involves the question of *how,* and some drill on fixing skills and habits, and when methodology is introduced, there is the element of the "mechanical." Such categorizing is, to my way of thinking, futile and unrewarding. There are not enough differences between them to make worthwhile a vast amount of research in an effort to pinpoint the insignificant distinctions that one may find if one is looking for them. The differences *among* the adherents, or supposed adherents, of the two "schools" are as great and as frequent as are those existing *between* the two.

On this basis, Sheridan was just as mechanical as Walker. I can see no justification whatever for the conclusion that James Burgh, with his theories and descriptions, even his "rules," deserves to be relegated to the mechanical any more than to the natural school; there is not enough of a difference to make a difference. Burgh's descriptions of the "passions," for example, were never intended to establish definite patterns into which all expression of these moods or attitudes were to be expressed. He says himself, "From . . . nature, is to be deduced the whole art of speaking properly. . . . Thus *nature fixes* the outward *expression* of every intention or sentiment of the mind."[16]

My third point in the argument that elocution was not, in its origins, the distorted, exaggerated, mechanical practice that it developed into, is that, as Haberman has pointed out,[17] the basic approach of the early writers on the subject was characterized by a scientific attitude. Today we are accustomed to more or less elaborate instrumentation in discovering the existence of certain phenomena, or the characteristics of those already known. We are not always so keenly aware that the essence of the scientific method lies in the objectivity of the approach rather than in the nature of the machinery employed. It is largely a question of trying to find what is there rather than what we are looking for. It is, moreover, a matter of recognizing that these two are not always the same.

Upon that basis, it seems evident that when people like Bulwer, Burgh, Sheridan, Walker, Austin, Rush, and others of the analysts of those days, began their several quests to discover the elements of good delivery, they started out with a minimum of preconceived ideas of what they might find; on the contrary, although they may have opened their inquiries from some particular point of view, they seem to have embarked on a program of objective observation and description, as Bacon had urged in his *Advancement of Learning.* We know, for example, that James Rush's reading of Bacon during his sojourn at the University of Edinburgh from 1809 to 1811 changed his entire attitude toward medicine, toward what are now psychology and psychiatry, and toward even philosophy itself.

It is even possible that some of the earlier writers on elocution had received inspiration from Bacon himself. At any rate, if their own statements are to be believed, their central aim throughout their programs was to "look upon nature," observe objectively how ideas and attitudes were expressed by man in his untrammeled, uninhibited state, and from these observations to advance certain generalized principles that might be followed with confidence

[16] *Op. cit.*

[17] Frederick W. Haberman, "English Sources of American Elocution," in *History of Speech Education in America,* ed. Karl R. Wallace (New York, 1954), p. 110.

by other men in their efforts to portray those ideas and sentiments most effectively to others.

In other words, having taken the first step in the scientific approach, that of disinterested observation, they were ready to take the next step, to offer a basis upon which these observations and the consequent generalizations might be repeated with some confidence in their reliability, as well as in their results. And two of the basic determinants of scientific validity are verifiability and predictability. It seems to me that is exactly what they were both seeking and offering to the student of effective speaking.

That is what Burgh was doing in 1761, in his descriptions of the "passions," which, as I have indicated, were not "rules" to be followed blindly, but rather "that which customarily or normally occurs or holds good," a definition which is certainly consistent with Burgh's use of the term *rule*.

Sheridan's rules and markings in his *Art of Reading* would seem to make him just as much a member of the "mechanical school" as Walker is supposed to be: but those rules were based on observation and consequent generalization, on the basis of which a certain reliability and predictability might be established.

John Walker in 1781 felt, rightly or wrongly, that sense and form were inextricably bound together; the form and the meaning of a sentence could not be separated. It was upon such a rationale that he built his "system" of pauses and inflections. But the rules of Walker, like those of Burgh, were based on "that which customarily or normally occurs or holds good," rather than rigid patterns into which all expression was to be moulded.

Similarly, the Reverend Gilbert Austin in 1806 was attempting to set down systematically, in such a way as would be consistent within itself, the results of his observations of such movements and positions as were significant in speech, as they occur in "nature," that is, in unrestricted, normal, active communication. And I still maintain that there is more than a modicum of sense in what he set down in *Chironomia*.

James Rush, peculiarly, never started out to write a work on elocution at all. He was simply attempting to analyze the movements of the voice as one of the five external manifestations of human intellect. As he developed his analysis he thought he saw how it might be useful in the study and teaching of elocution, but his original intent was an objective description of vocal phenomena based on his objective observations.

Elocution fell from grace not because of the original theorists working during the century and a half from 1646 to 1806, or because of the teachers and speakers who based their principles and practice on the writings of those theorists. A number of influences combined to bring about its demise; I shall do no more than indicate a few of these.

For one thing, elocution became in some way associated essentially with reading, rather than remaining a matter of the delivery of all forms of spoken discourse. In so doing, it became divorced from content; it lost all contact with the other canons of rhetoric, which as has been indicated, are present in literature and drama as well as in original speaking or rhetoric. Still further, it seems to have developed a sort of schizophrenia: it became more and more a kind of art form in itself. People became not readers, but elocutionists—practitioners of the art of delivery with nothing to deliver. And that is why Trueblood in 1905 was trying, and suc-

ceeding, in abandoning the "ist" which had become tacked on to the word *elocution*.

Another important element that entered into the study of speech and its delivery toward the end of the nineteenth century was the introduction of what might be termed false gods. Many who would not delve into the philosophies of the early writers on elocution, or who could not grasp their principles, turned to the mysticism that developed in this country from the theories of Delsarte. One result was that much of the elocution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries degenerated into statue-posing, bird-calls, and imitations of children—probably not all of which was imitation.

Elocution was not at fault, nor were the Burghs, the Sheridans, the Walkers, the Austins, or the Rushes. If it were possible again to base our present theories and practices on the philosophies from which they studied and wrote, elocution might once more become a respectable term, and we would not shrink with such horror from teaching it.

THE DEBUT OF ADAH ISAACS MENKEN

Bill Parsons

IT is doubtful that any actress ever created more mystery about her personal life than did the famous Mazeppa of the nineteenth century, Adah Isaacs Menken. Mrs. Menken died in 1868, but the mystery surrounding her life has never been solved. We do not know who she was, where she was born, who her parents were, the size of her family, or the circumstances surrounding her life prior to the beginning of her theatrical career. Some of these things may remain a mystery forever, but it will be the purpose of this paper to show when and where Mrs. Menken first made her professional debut on the stage, with whom she acted, and to follow the activities of the group she performed with through the Shreveport, Louisiana, engagement in 1857. Her personal activities are well known after that time and have been recorded by her various biographers.[1]

Most, if not all, of Adah Isaacs Menken's biographers have stated that she made her professional debut at the James S. Charles Theatre in Shreveport, Louisiana, in March, 1857.[2] This, however, seems only to have been what Adah wanted people to believe. The Charles company was a touring group that had started from New Orleans on September 3, 1856, with the avowed purpose of treating "the people of the interior to a series of well selected theatrical performances."[3] Although the first Shreveport performance was not given until February 21, 1857,[4] Adah was the "star" of the company from the very beginning.

James S. Charles, one of the outstanding light comedians of his day, had been a successful actor-manager in New Orleans and Memphis for several years prior to 1856. He spent the summer of 1856 in New Orleans gathering a company to tour the principal cities of Louisiana and Texas. On September 3, the company, including Adah and her husband, Alexander Isaac Menken, left New Orleans.[5] Other members of the Charles troupe were Mr. W. E. Anderton, Mr. Harry Wilson, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Walter Birch, and Miss Grace Greenwood. According to the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Thibodaux was to be their first stop:

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[1] If the reader wishes to inquire further into the life and identity of Mrs. Menken, he should read the works listed in the following footnote. Allen Lesser's book, *Enchanting Rebel—The Secret of Adah Isaacs Menken*, is most interesting. Mr. Lesser believes that Mrs. Menken's real name was Adah Bertha Theodore [pp. 248-49] and builds quite an argument in defense of his belief. The theatre bills of Mrs. Menken's early career would tend to substantiate Mr. Lesser. They referred to Adah as Mrs. Menken, Mrs. Ada B. Menken, Mrs. A. B. Menken, Mrs. Adah I. Menken, or Mrs. A. I. Menken. In this paper she is referred to as Mrs. Adah Isaacs Menken.

[2] John S. Kendall, "The World's Delight: The Story of Adah Isaacs Menken," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXI (July 1938), 849; Allen Lesser, *Enchanting Rebel—The Secret of Adah Isaacs Menken* (New York, 1947), p. 19; Catherine H. Leach, "Adah Isaacs Menken: The Biography of an American Actress" (unpublished thesis, Dept. of English, Louisiana State University, 1937), p. 25; Allen Lesser "Adah Isaacs Menken," *DAB*.

[3] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Sept. 3, 1856.

[4] Shreveport *South-Western*, Feb. 25, 1857.

[5] *Daily Picayune*, Sept. 3, 1856.

THEATRICALS FOR THE INTERIOR.—Mr. J. S. Charles starts this morning with a dramatic company, with whom he purposes to treat the citizens of the interior to a series of well selected theatrical performances. He will proceed first to Thibodaux, and thence through the Attakapas region and adjacent sections, as opportunities and encouragement may offer. We bespeak for him an appreciative reception.[6]

The customary mode of travel in the mid-nineteenth century was the steamboat. It is likely, therefore, that the Charles company traveled up the Mississippi River to Donaldsonville and then down Bayou Lafourche to Thibodaux, where they played with decided success for about four performances. In fact they were so successful that a group of the Thibodaux citizenry followed the troupe to Houma when they moved on to that city.[7]

Charles and his company were scheduled to appear in Houma on September 8, but their scenery was delayed and they did not perform until the 12th.[8] They performed nightly through the 16th and were reviewed by the *Houma Ceres* on the 20th. After remarking that a "large delegation" from Thibodaux had traveled to Houma to see one of the performances, the *Ceres* said the performances were well worth traveling to see:

We do not wonder at the enthusiasm of our Lafourche friends; for the fact is, the representations given by these disciples of Thespis were quite enchanting, and some of the "disciples" themselves really fascinating. We know some folks hereabouts who would go twice to Thibodaux to see them. Mrs. Ada Menken is a charming actress, and does her parts to the life. 'She suits the action to the word, the word to the action.' We expect to hear from her on wider "boards" than Houma affords at present.

The reviewer for the *Ceres* proved to be a shrewd observer, for Adah Isaacs Menken became the most famous actress of her day and the queen of two continents before her death in 1868. She was the first member of the troupe to be singled out for individual recognition, and she continued to be the favorite of audiences throughout the tour. During this time, her husband played small parts and contributed musically to the programs.

When Charles and his company left Houma, they probably traveled up Bayou Teche, performing in the cities along the way until they reached Opelousas in late October, where they opened on October 30. The Opelousas *Patriot* and the Opelousas *Courier* were both very kind in their comments of November 1, and the *Patriot* gave the following bill for that evening:

This Evening, Saturday, the performance will commence with

THE MARRIED RAKE[9]

Mr. Frederick Flighty	Mr. J. S. Charles
John Thomas	Mr. W E Anderton
Robert	Mr. Menken
Mrs. Flighty	Miss Grace Greenwood
Mrs. Trictrac	Mrs. Ada B. Menken
Cornet Fitzherbert	Mrs. Ada B Menken
Lady Simple	W. E. Anderton

To be followed by SINGING and DANCING. The accomplished Artiste, Mrs. Ada B Menken, in "LA CACHUCHA."

LOAN OF A LOVER

Peter Spyk	Mr W E Anderton
Gertrude . . . with songs	Mrs Ada B Menken

The Lady of Lyons was announced by the *Patriot* as being the main attraction for Sunday, November 2, with Charles as Melnotte and Mrs. Menken as Pauline.[10] The play was a success the *Patriot* remarked on the 15th:

On Tuesday evening, "The Lady of Lyon" (*sic*) was repeated, by general request, to a house filled to the utmost capacity of the

[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Houma Ceres*, Sept. 20, 1856.
[8] *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1856.
[9] This bill has been copied exactly as it appeared in the Opelousas *Patriot*.
[10] *Patriot*, Nov. 1, 1856.

Varieties. The Melnotte of Mr. Charles, and the Pauline of Mrs. Menken, were fine specimens of the histrionic art.

Nature and Philosophy, entr'acts, and *His Last Legs* were listed for November 15. Mrs. Menken played Colin in the first. She danced a "FANCY DANCE" between the two features and played Julia in the latter.[11] Sheridan Knowles's *The Hunchback* was given sometime during the week, but the characters were not listed in the Opelousas papers.

The company continued to grow in popularity with the Opelousas people, but "Deluged streets by day and 'rumors of war' by night . . ."[12] kept many people away from the theatre. The *Patriot* apologized for the "thin audiences" and printed a copy of a letter, dated the 24th, from some of the leading citizens of Opelousas, offering Charles a benefit. The same newspaper also carried Charles's reply of the 26th, accepting the benefit.[13] His benefit night was set for November 29, the last night of the Opelousas run, and the *Patriot* of that day praised the entire company in a long article entitled, "THEATRICALS IN OPELOUSAS." The article particularly praised Mrs. Menken:

> Mrs. Ada. B. Menken, the "bright, particular star" of the troup, possesses talent of the highest order, and versatility equal to her talent. Whether as the proud, haughty, and yet unselfish, devoted Pauline, drawing sympathetic tears from her auditors—carrying them as by a spell along the turbid stream of her own conflicting emotions—or as the bewitching, mischief-making Mrs. Trictrac, dealing wit and sarcasm as a caution to evil-doers, she is equally at home. Her round of characters has embraced almost every emotion of which the female heart is capable; and she has failed in none. While she has left an impression, by her admirable personations of the most arduous, that will not soon be effaced. Mrs. Menken is yet quite young, and has a bright future before her. Energy, perseverance, study, can not fail to place her in the front rank of her art—at the top of the ladder of fame.

The Charles company left Opelousas on November 30 and opened a two-week stand in Washington, Louisiana, on that night.[14] They were well received there, and Charles was given another benefit on December 13. The bill for that evening included *The Hunchback,* with Mrs. Menken as Julia and Charles as Sir Thomas Clifford.[15]

The company returned to Opelousas on December 15 for a six-night stand before proceeding up the Red River in the direction of Alexandria and Shreveport. The bill for that evening is listed below, without change in format or punctuation:

> Monday, Dec. 15, 1856.
>
> CHARLES THE SECOND; or,
> The Merry Monarch
>
> Charles II, J. S. Charles; Rochester, Wilson; Edward, Menken: Capt. Copp, W. E. Anderton; Mary Copp, Ada B Menken; Lady Clara, Grace Greenwood.
>
> Comic Songs ..... Harry Wilson
> Patriotic Song ..... Grace Greenwood
> New Comic Song ..... W E Anderton
>
> THAT BLESSED BABY—farce[16]

The Opelousas engagement closed on December 20, and the little troupe traveled up the Red River to Alexandria, where they opened on January 3.[17] The Alexandria newspapers were not available for this study, but the following article appeared in the Opelousas *Patriot* on January 10:

> Mr. Charles.—This artist, with his favorite troupe, opened what promises to be a brilliant season at Alexandria on Saturday last. The bill was "Charles II" and "A Day in Paris," with the same cast which was given at the varieties. The house was well filled, and, judging from the demonstrations given, we should suppose

[11] *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1856.
[12] *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1856.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1856; Dec. 13, 1856.
[16] *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1856.
[17] *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1857.

that the Alexandrians were in ecstasies. We can assure the citizens of that town that, however well they may have been pleased at first, these entertainments will improve upon acquaintance.

It was impossible to determine exactly how long Charles and his company remained in Alexandria. But since they did not arrive in Shreveport until February 17, and since Alexandria and Natchitoches were the only towns of any size along the Red River between Opelousas and Shreveport, it may be surmised that they spent the intervening time in these two towns. It is known, however, that they did arrive at Shreveport on February 17 and opened the theatre there on February 21.[18] The opening bill included *The Lady of Lyons* and the farce, *Toodles*. They were reviewed on the 25th by the Shreveport *South-Western*:

Mr. Charles opened his theatre on Saturday evening, to a large audience. The pieces selected for the occasion were Bulwer's beautiful play of the Lady of Lyons, and the most laughable farce of the Toodles, which were performed most admirably, to the delight of all present. Candor forces us to admit that we were most agreeably surprised. The want of time and space, prevents us from speaking of the different performers as they deserve, but we cannot omit noticing the artistic manner in which the characters of Claude and Pauline were sustained. Mr. Charles, in the former, and Mrs. Menken, as the latter, won great applause and were at the close of the piece called before the curtain.

The bill for the 25th included *Raising the Wind, Is He Jealous?*, and *The Loan of a Lover*. That night also marked the appearance of Miss Annie Josephs in "The Dannybrook Life," which was probably a popular dance or song of the time.[19] It can not be determined if this was the first appearance of Miss Josephs, but any appearance by her leaves room for speculation. Mr. Allen Lesser, who has written the most scholarly and complete biography of Adah Isaacs Menken, claims that Miss Annie Josephs was Adah's stepsister. Lesser says:

Her stepsister Annie was the dancer of the family, and whatever Adah knew of the art was probably learned from her. She gave Annie her first chance as a professional dancer in New Orleans in 1857 and as an actress in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1859, where the sisters appeared in a comedy called *The Little Devil*. Annie also came north with her sister but returned after a short stay to care for their mother. In September, 1860, that unidentified lady died, an event which Adah memorialized in a poem called 'Our Mother.' It was dedicated to Annie, and its publication in the *Sunday Mercury* brought her many expressions of sympathy from readers of that weekly. One published poem by Naomi Hohn, entitled 'Aline,' gently chided Adah for her plaint of despair and loneliness when there were still many who admired and respected her. Another, entitled 'Charity,' by Annie pleaded with the newspapers to adopt a kindlier attitude toward her actress sister.

An almost impenetrable silence covers the life and fate of Annie Campbell Josephs after November, 1860, the date of this poem. There are no records to indicate that she returned to the theater after her Albany appearance with her famous sister. The Menken never mentioned her in any letters to James or other friends, and there is nothing to show that the sisters communicated with each other after 1860.[20]

The fact that Annie Josephs probably made her first appearance in Shreveport, the very place that Adah claims she started her own career, is interesting. The source for Lesser's claim that Annie Josephs started her dancing career in New Orleans and acting career in Atlanta is not given. The statement, however, sounds like something Adah would have claimed, and if so, it again shows her disregard for facts. Miss Josephs appeared both as an actress and as a dancer while the Charles company was in Shreveport. She appeared most

[18] Shreveport *South-Western*, Feb. 18, 1857.
[19] *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1857.
[20] Lesser, *Enchanting Rebel*, pp. 250-51.

often, however, in "A GRAND FANCY DANCE." In addition to Miss Josephs, Charles had increased his company between the Opelousas and Shreveport engagements by adding Mr. T. J. Herndon, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Mitchell, and a Mrs. Adams.[21]

The theatre in Shreveport continually grew in popularity, as the *South-Western* noted on March 11:

> THE THEATRE.—The entertainments afforded nightly at the theatre draw together large and fashionable audiences, and notwithstanding the inducements held out by other places of amusement, it has increased in popularity. How could it be otherwise, when we have such finished and accomplished artists as Mr. J. S. Charles, Mr. T. J. Herndon, and Mrs. Menken? The drama is now a "fixed fact" with our citizens, and hereafter they will not be content without an annual visit from the players.

Adah took a benefit on March 28, and the *South-Western* remarked that she "has cause to feel proud of the manner in which our citizens proved their appreciation of her merits."[22]

Charles closed the theatre on April 13, "After a season of seven weeks . . . ,"[23] and announced his intentions of returning to Alexandria on the next boat. Although Adah accompanied the group to Alexandria, it is likely that a rift soon occurred, because Adah, her husband, and Mr. T. J. Herndon soon returned to Shreveport where, on June 3rd, they started giving a series of "DRAMATIC DRAWING-ROOM ENTERTAINMENTS." An editorial for that day noted the series:

> Mrs. Menken and Mr. Herndon, having returned from Alexandria, propose giving a series of Dramatic drawing room entertainments, comprising recitations, imitations, readings, scenes from plays, singing, dancing, &c., in which they will be assisted by Mr. Menken. They are all too well known to our citizens to require commendation. The entertainments will undoubtedly prove attractive and worthy of patronage.[24]

It should be noted that the bill for June 3 listed Adah as "Mrs. A. I. Menken" for the first time. Heretofore she was listed as "Mrs. Ada B. Menken" or "Mrs. A. B. Menken." It seems safe to assume, therefore, that sometime between April 15 and June 3, 1857, Adah dropped her own middle name and adopted her husband's middle name of Isaac, after adding an extra *s*, for her own. She kept this name for the rest of her life.

The Menkens and Mr. Herndon performed at Shreveport for about a week. Their last performance, as far as could be determined, was given "At the Male Academy — GREENWOOD . . . ON SATURDAY EVENING, June 13 th."[25]

On August 29, 1857, Adah appeared with an amateur organization in New Orleans for the benefit of Mrs. T. B. Logan.[26] She played to a large audience. Her fame had preceded her to New Orleans, and the star of Adah Isaacs Menken was launched. Within a decade it would shine with extreme brillance for the pleasure of the world.

And so the mystery of Adah Isaacs Menken still remains, but one more part of the puzzle is now in place. She did not begin her acting career in Shreveport, Louisiana, in March, 1857, as her biographers have stated, but had been engaged as a professional actress by James S. Charles approximately six months prior to that time, and had adopted her stage name sometime during the spring, 1857. Perhaps someday the entire picture will be complete and we shall fully know the mysterious lady, Adah Isaacs Menken. Until that time,

[21] *South-Western*, Mar. 4, 1857; Mar. 18, 1857.
[22] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1857.
[23] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1857.
[24] *Ibid.*, June 3, 1857.
[25] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1857.
[26] New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, Aug. 29, 1857.

however, the search will continue for an answer to this century-old riddle.

The following is a list of the plays in which Adah Isaacs Menken, Alexander Isaac Menken, and Miss Annie Josephs appeared during the time covered by this paper (September 3, 1856 to June 13, 1857). They undoubtedly appeared in many other plays, but the newspapers used in this study were weekly papers, and only a partial list could be obtained. Many of the plays were given several performances.

ADAH ISAACS MENKEN

The Married Rake ..... Mrs. Trictrac
Cornet Fitzherbert
Entr'acte .... La Cachucha [A Spanish dance?]
Loan of a Lover ..... Gertrude
The Lady of Lyons ..... Pauline
The Irish Tutor ..... Rose
Married and Settled ... Cleopatra Turulooloo
Swiss Cottage ..... Lisette
Nature and Philosophy ..... Colin
Entr'acte ..... Fancy Dance
His Last Legs ..... Julia
Object of Interest .. "Imitations of several well known characters."
The Hunchback ..... Julia
Charles the Second; or
The Merry Monarch ..... Mary Copp
Cross of Gold; or,
The Maid of Croissey ..... Therese
Is He Jealous? ..... Harriet
Fazio; or,
The Italian Wife's Revenge ..... Bianca
The Soldier's Daughter ..... Widow Cheerly
The Little Treasure ..... Gertrude
The Dead Shot ..... Louise Lovetrick
The Unprotected Female ..... Polly Crisp
Ingomar ..... Parthenia
The Lady and the Devil ..... Zephyrins
Camille ..... unknown
Dramatic Drawing-Room Entertainments
Variety of characters and acts

ALEXANDER ISAAC MENKEN

Loan of a Lover ..... Peter Spyk
The Irish Tutor ..... Beadle
His Last Legs ..... Dr. Banks
The Hunchback ..... Wilford,
Earl of Rochdale
Charles the Second; or,
The Merry Monarch ..... Edward
The Little Treasure ..... unknown
"Leader of the Orchestra" ..... Shreveport
Drawing-Room Entertainments accompanyist

MISS ANNIE JOSEPHS

Entr'acte ..... "The Dannybrook Life"
[dance? song?]
Entr'acte .. "Grand Fancy Dance" on numerous occasions, Shreveport
The Little Treasure ..... unknown
Bombastes Furioso ..... unknown
Ingomar ..... Theresa

JAMES H. McVICKER AND HIS THEATRE

Jay F. Ludwig

ONE of the principal stories of the nineteenth century theatre in America is the fall of the resident company and the repertory system and the rise of the traveling star and the long run. This change in the structure of the American theatre was accompanied by a shift in control from the provincial theatre manager to the New York producer and booking agency.

The career of James H. McVicker and his theatre in Chicago illustrates the reduction in status of the provincial theatre manager in America. McVicker built his first theatre in Chicago in 1857 and remained its manager until his death in 1896. Although he is probably more widely known as the father-in-law of Edwin Booth, he is generally regarded by historians of the period as the dean of nineteenth century theatre managers in Chicago. Oral Sumner Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr., for instance, label him the "outstanding figure of theatrical life in the Middle West. . . ."[1] Yet no detailed study of McVicker's management exists.

The history of McVicker's Theatre under his management is divided into three periods: (1) From 1857 to 1871 McVicker employed a permanent resident company and with the aid of traveling stars presented generally high quality productions. The Great Fire of 1871 put an end to all theatrical activity in Chicago for a short time. (2) From 1872 to 1879 McVicker attempted to fight the growing pressures of the traveling combination system by hiring an excellent company and operating without stars or combination companies. Unable to sustain the cost, he disbanded his permanent company in 1879. (3) From 1879 to 1896 McVicker operated his theatre as a combination house.

A study of James H. McVicker and his theatre in Chicago shows the shift from the repertory system to the traveling combination and its effect upon the provincial manager.

Contemporary newspapers are the chief source of information. I have relied largely upon the *Chicago Tribune*. A collection of pamphlets, clippings, and programs held by the Chicago Historical Society and a small collection of autograph letters and newspaper clippings at the Harvard University Library are the principal supplementary sources. Related studies in Chicago theatre history were also of assistance.[2] Attempts to locate private collections were unsuccessful.

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[1] Oral Sumner Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr. *The American Stage*. Vol. XIV: *The Pageant of America*, ed. Ralph Henry Gabriel (New Haven, 1929), p. 178.

[2] See Edward Freiberger, "From Sauganash to Iroquois," *Iroquois Theatre Souvenir Programme* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 37-93; Edward Freiberger, "Theatre Beginnings in Chicago," *Theatre*, XIII (June, 1911), 198-200; C. E. Nixon, "Epitome of Chicago's Theatrical History," *Illinois Theatre Souvenir Programme* (Chicago, 1900), pp. 23-15; A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 1670-1885 (Chicago, 1884-1886), I, 472-96; II, 596-612; III, 657-72; Robert L. Sherman, *Chicago Stage: Its Records and Achievements*, Vol. I, *1833-1871* (Chicago, 1947); Napier Wilt, "A History of the Two Rice Theatres in Chicago from 1847 to 1857" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of English, University of Chicago, 1924); and Lois Mildred Bergstrom, "The History of McVicker's Theatre, 1857-61" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of English, University of Chicago, 1930).

1857-1871

McVicker opened his theatre in Chicago on November 5, 1857. He did so after having established a reputation as one of Chicago's most popular actors. Born in New York City in 1822, he left home at the age of fifteen and migrated to St. Louis. First employed as an apprentice printer by the *St. Louis Republican,* he began to visit the newly constructed St. Louis Theatre operated by Sol Smith and Noah Miller Ludlow. Soon his visits became more regular and after several years he took on a part-time job as callboy at the theatre. When Smith and Ludlow rebuilt the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans in 1843, McVicker decided to become an actor and joined the company of the new theatre. After a rigorous apprenticeship during which he "was drilled in the intricacies of stage business and familiarized with many of the mechanical duties"[3] of his new profession, McVicker moved about, joining companies in Nashville, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. Eventually he returned to the St. Charles, and in 1847 moved into the line of first low comedian. His first appearance in this line was as the First Gravedigger to Edwin Forrest's Hamlet. In 1848 he and another member of the company went to Chicago in search of work, and were immediately hired by John B. Rice, manager of the Chicago Theatre, the first permanent theatre in Chicago.

McVicker quickly became one of the hardest working of Rice's actors. He was most pleasing in the short contemporary farces, the afterpiece then being at the height of its popularity. He appeared in *Lend Me Five Shillings, Highways and Byeways, Sweethearts and Wives, The Artful Dodger, Tom and Jerry, Going to the Races, A Glance at New York, Mose in California,* and many others.

Rice's theatre burned to the ground in 1850 and while Rice was rebuilding, McVicker bought from the widow of Dan Marble all that actor's scripts and costumes, and declared himself a Yankee "star." After a long starring engagement at Rice's new theatre, during which he received favorable press notices and drew large audiences, McVicker began a tour which culminated in a three month visit to London. Said the New York *Times* in a typical review of one of his performances: "Mr. McVicker played with remarkable unction, and without any of the usual exaggeration of the stage Yankee. He is unquestionably a fine artist."[4]

In 1857 George Wood, a St. Louis financier, decided to establish a theatre in Chicago and make the popular McVicker its manager. He did so, but because of the Panic of 1857, withdrew his support before the theatre was completed. McVicker completed the building. It was by far the largest Chicago had ever seen. It was 80 feet wide, 190 feet deep, three stories high, and was topped by two towers on the two front cornices. The auditorium was 80 feet wide, 84 feet deep, and 45 feet high. It consisted of a parquette and dress circle on the main floor, and a second dress circle overhead. There were at least two boxes on either side of the proscenium arch. The furnishings were plain, but the mirrors on the walls and the carpets on the floor imparted an air of distinction that the Rice building had lacked. The seating capacity was 2000. The stage was 80 feet wide, 60 feet deep, and 45 feet high. The proscenium arch was 36 feet wide and 40 feet high.

[3] William Walker, *The Chicago Stage; Containing sketches of the prominent members of the local amusement profession, for the season of 1870-71* (Chicago, 1871), p. 19.

[4] New York *Times,* March 21, 1856, p. 4.

The theatre was remodeled in 1865 and rebuilt in 1871. McVicker made several important changes in the internal structure of the theatre. (1) He increased the height of both the stage house and the auditorium to 80 feet, adding a fly-gallery. (2) He widened the proscenium arch. (3) He gave the proscenium boxes their first push toward oblivion. Remaining as objects of ornament, they were no longer used for seating. (4) He widened the spaces between rows, and decreased the number of seats to 1400. (5) He moved toward less gaudy decoration and more subdued lighting and colors.

McVicker made one final change which was considered so significant at the time that it evoked editorial comment in at least one newspaper.[5] He did away with the old gallery, at least in name. It was refurbished so that a seat there was inferior to a seat below only in distance from the stage. He labeled it the "balcony circle" and raised the price from twenty-five to fifty cents. This was the first time a Chicago theatre had dispensed with the gallery.

McVicker's Theatre from the very beginning was built upon the star system. That is, the permanent stock company was primarily an instrument for supporting the succession of traveling stars. Basically, then, the stars rather than the manager dictated the plays presented. McVicker, however, was not completely powerless; he had the opportunity to select the stars appearing at the theatre. Thus he maintained a general control over the plays presented.

A significant number of stars were presented each year whose repertory consisted mainly of the standard drama —the plays of Shakespeare, Sheridan, Goldsmith, Bulwer-Lytton, Schiller, and so on. These plays comprised ten to twenty per cent of the repertory during the period. Apparently the standard pieces were well received by the Chicago public. Of course, much depended upon the star who performed them. John Wilkes Booth in 1862 and 1863 created tremendous excitement. His brother, Edwin, achieved great popularity in his engagements following the Civil War. Other less known stars like Edwin Adams, Daniel Bandmann, Mark Smith, and Frank Mayo (before his specialization in Davy Crockett) were at times virtually ignored by the public.

Most of the plays presented at McVicker's Theatre were not of the standard repertory. In the very early years one-half consisted of farces and burlesques.[6] Rarely were these plays the principal attractions of the evening; usually they were curtain-raisers or afterpieces. Sometimes, however, two or three farces were grouped to form an evening's bill. This was frequently the case when the company played without a star. In these instances McVicker was usually the leading actor, and since his line was first comedian, the plays chosen to highlight his acting were almost always farcical.

The most significant group of farces was a series of satirical plays by local authors on local subjects presented during the first several years of the theatre's existence. They ranged in subject matter from a court-martial which involved several Chicagoans to a satire on the real estate boom Chicago was experiencing. The last was presented several months before the start of the Civil War. Presentation of these farces by local men about local subjects was McVicker's unique contribution to the Chicago theatre.

The most startling trend in the kind

[5] *Chicago Times*, August 20, 1871, p. 6.

[6] Of the 492 plays performed in the 1859-60 season, 265 may be classified as farces.

of plays presented at McVicker's Theatre was the great decline of the farce between the years of 1857 and 1871. Although over fifty per cent of the plays produced in the 1859-60 season were farces, less than twenty-five per cent in the 1870-71 season were. Numerically the picture is even more striking; 265 farces appeared in 1857-58; only 60 in 1870-71. This was caused by the disappearance of the afterpiece and curtain-raiser as part of an evening's bill. In 1857 the theatre-goer expected as a matter of course to be entertained by a farce either before or after the principal piece. The tradition was so strong that often newspapers made no mention in their reports, and the advertisements merely noted that the principal piece would be followed, or preceded, by a "popular farce," without specifying it by name. By 1872, however, shorter performances and changing audience taste were eliminating this practice.

Throughout this period approximately one-third of the plays presented at McVicker's were contemporary melodramas and comedies. Whereas the classical tragedies and comedies were usually rotated every night by the star presenting them, the manager soon fell into the habit of allowing contemporary plays to run as long as their popularity would permit. McVicker depended not upon the standard plays and farces, but upon the success of his new plays. To capitalize upon their newness and attract as many patrons as possible, he switched from the policy of a nightly or bi-nightly change of bill to the policy of the "long run." At first the "runs" there were rarely longer than two weeks, but in 1867 *The Black Crook* played for eight weeks. This was the longest run of the period.

Historians of Chicago, such as Andreas and Freiberger (see footnote 2), generalizing, label the McVicker company, "as good as any in the country," a label true only in part. At *times* the company was evidently a good one; at other times it apparently was not. Contemporary newspaper criticism ranges from extravagant praise to harsh denunciation. The company was constantly changing, and, naturally, its caliber was changing with it. Even when the company was of high quality, the manager could not meet the casting demands of each play he produced. Stock actors were required to play many parts; it was impossible for them to play all the roles well. Also, the new plays had characters which did not fit the traditional "lines." Therefore, the quality of the performance fluctuated markedly. Although during the 1857-71 period McVicker's players were not all of a high excellence, it is probable that his company previously had not been excelled in Chicago.

Newspaper reports and playbills show that 106 stars appeared at McVicker's Theatre during the 1857-71 period. The stars who appeared most often were: C. W. Couldock with twelve engagements; Frank Chanfrau, ten; Maggie Mitchell, nine; Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Florence, nine; Edwin Adams, eight; Joseph Proctor, six; James H. Hackett, six; J. E. McDonough, six; John Brougham, five; Edwin Booth, five; Mr. and Mrs. Wilmarth Waller, five; Jane Coombs, five; and John Collins, five. Although the five stars seen most frequently—Couldock, Chanfrau, Miss Mitchell, and the Florences—played in relatively trivial pieces, they were excellent actors.

Perhaps the key to McVicker's success as a manager was his thorough attention to the setting and properties in his productions. McVicker always employed capable scene painters, so that no mat-

ter how poor the play or the acting, audiences were never disappointed by the settings. When McVicker opened in 1857 the antiquarian movement had not yet had much effect upon production methods in this country. Settings were not judged by their "reality," but by the skill of the painting. However, a definite trend toward spectacular scenery began to develop. In 1860 a newspaper said about a production of *The Colleen Bawn,* "The scenery of Mr. Whytal is alone worth the price of admission."[7] Plays began to receive elaborate settings. "Spectacles"—productions whose success was either established, or increased, by the beauty of the scenery—appeared more frequently at McVicker's. The addition of the Drummond lime light on December 17, 1860, provided added means for creating spectacularly "realistic" effects.

McVicker himself was well-liked by Chicagoans. From the moment he arrived in 1848, his acting had been appreciated, and when he gave Chicago its finest theatre and attempted to give it the same kind of entertainment that was being seen in the East, the city showed its gratitude. A complimentary benefit extended to McVicker by the citizens of Chicago on March 16, 1860, had to be carried over to the next evening because of the tremendous demand for seats. On the occasion of his benefit a year later the *Chicago Tribune* said:

> This Tuesday evening, Mr. McVicker will take his annual benefit. In catering for the amusement of the public, Manager McVicker has presented to them all the novelties of the day in a manner unsurpassed by any theatre in the country, and creating for himself a reputation and a popularity that will never be forgotten. As an actor he has no superiors—in private life he is a gentleman. His kindness of heart, his generosity, his many excellent social qualities, his talents and professional experience, have made him a feature in the drama in Chicago, and made for himself a host of friends, who will not forget him on this occasion.[8]

Even though favorite actors usually received praise on benefit nights, this encomium is especially extravagant.

If McVicker was well-liked, it was because he was keenly aware of public relations. He was always quick, for instance, to present benefit performances for worthy causes. On June 16, 1860, a disaster-stricken area was given a full-dress benefit complete with auction on-stage. During the Civil War when his was the only theatre in Chicago, McVicker displayed his patriotism in a number of ways. Thirteen days after the war began he announced, "Commanding officers are hereby invited to visit the Theatre with their Companies; if they cannot attend, their written orders will be good for the admission of their men."[9] A few weeks later McVicker staged a benefit to supply the Chicago Wadsworth Guards with uniforms. During the weeks that followed groups of volunteers were invited to visit the theatre. A gala performance was given on November 11, 1861, for a unit recently returned from action. McVicker's biggest contribution to the war effort was the opening of his second floor as a volunteer sewing hall.

By 1871 James H. McVicker was looked upon as the dean of Chicago theatre managers. The Great Fire in October of that year brought to a close an era of prosperity for him. The opening of his theatre in 1857 had established Chicago as a major theatrical center. During the next fourteen years he earned a reputation as a competent theatrical producer and a generous public servant. Despite increasing competi-

[7] *Chicago Press and Tribune,* February 4, 1860, p. 1.

[8] July 2, 1861, p. 1.

[9] *Chicago Tribune,* April 25, 1861, p. 1.

tion throughout these years he remained Chicago's leading manager. Although during this period most Chicago managers depended upon the star system, all retained control of the casting and setting of the plays in which the stars appeared. Undetected as yet by Chicagoans were the first signs of the internal change in the theatrical profession which was soon to put an end to this control.

1872-1879

McVicker's Theatre rose from the ashes of the Great Fire on August 15, 1872. Its opening marked the reappearance of first-class theatrical entertainment in Chicago. Changes in the structure of the interior from the 1871 building included a second balcony above the old balcony circle. The latter was labeled the "first balcony" and the parquette and dress circle were renamed the "orchestra" and "orchestra-circle." The number of seats was raised from 1400 to 1800; this figure was still 200 less than in the original theatre. Little change was made in the decor of the house. The only striking new effect was the addition of a grand chandelier. The dimensions of the stage were evidently the same as those of the 1871 structure. This theatre provided little that was new except for a significant new operating procedure, the darkening of the auditorium after the curtain had been raised.

During this period approximately 250 plays were presented each season. In the 1872-73 season fifty per cent of the plays were contemporary melodramas, thirty per cent were standard pieces, and twenty per cent were farces. In the 1877-78 season, when McVicker was relying upon his own company rather than stars, seventy per cent of the plays presented were contemporary melodramas, ten per cent were standard, and twenty per cent were farces. The increase in melodrama and the decrease in standard plays is explained by McVicker's policy of substituting new plays for stars. It will be remembered from the earlier period that only his company in Chicago rarely produced standard pieces.

Forty to fifty farces were presented each season. Some of the older stars carried farces in their repertories, and the company alone sometimes presented groups of farces as in the old days, but the trend was in the opposite direction; the farce was becoming a rarity, and the afterpiece was disappearing.

As more and more contemporary plays were presented, the nightly and bi-nightly change of bill disappeared almost completely. It was usually adopted only by stars performing the standard repertory. Edwin Booth, for instance, rarely played one play more than two nights in succession. Contemporary plays, for the most part, ran one or two weeks. Six plays during this period ran three weeks; two ran longer. In September, 1874, Joseph Jefferson appeared for a four-week run with *Rip Van Winkle*, and in the early summer of 1878 *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, produced by a traveling combination company, posted the longest run of the period—five weeks.

McVicker opened the 1872-73 season with what was virtually a new company. As a whole, it was weaker than before. More and more adverse criticism of the support given to stars began to creep into reports in the newspapers. For instance, the acting of the company in support of Adelaide Neilson in November, 1873, was dismissed with this criticism: "Miss Neilson's support is scarcely all that it should be, but one

cannot reasonably look for such a miracle nowadays."[10]

Comparison with the actors in the traveling combinations was another reason for the growing disparagement of the stock company at McVicker's. Discussing the combination company from Wallack's Theatre in New York, starring J. H. Stoddart, which stayed for a week in February, 1874, the *Chicago Tribune* reviewer noted that the actors are "so far above the average stock companies as to render the piece doubly entertaining."[11]

In the summer of 1877 McVicker decided to fight the combination system by hiring as strong a stock company as he could afford, and dispensing as much as possible with stars and traveling companies. This new company was highly talented—and expensive. Although the caliber of the company during the next two years was the highest in the history of the theatre, McVicker discovered that Chicago would not support such a venture, and on May 10, 1879, he was forced to disband the company.

Fifty different stars were engaged by McVicker during the period. Most popular was Edwin Booth, who had married McVicker's step-daughter Mary. He led with six engagements, followed by the perennial favorite, Maggie Mitchell, with five. Others who appeared at least three times were Jane Coombs, Charlotte Cushman, Dion Boucicault, Edwin Adams, Lotta Crabtree, and John T. Raymond. The high caliber of the stars playing at McVicker's during this period certainly cannot be contested. Few stars were more talented than Booth, Cushman, and Adams.

Single play combination companies without stars made their first appearances during this period. The first was Augustin Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre Company in June 1875. A short time later the company from Booth's Theatre in New York combined with the McVicker company to produce *Henry V*. In 1878 the Union Square Theatre Company combined with the McVicker company to present a contemporary melodrama.

McVicker's Theatre, then, was caught in a series of conflicting trends during the 1872-79 period, and the quality of the performers suffered accordingly. McVicker was hard put to find good actors because of the tremendous increase in the number of theatres in the country. The problem was intensified because Chicago theatregoers were able to observe the better actors in the combination companies from New York and compare them with the resident actors. The local players, of course, were under the added disadvantage of playing many roles with little preparation; whereas actors in the combination companies who supported stars in repertory needed to be familiar with only five or six roles, and those in the single play combinations with just one role—one in which they had probably been type cast.

If the quality of the performers on McVicker's stage varied throughout this period, the scenery did not. Interesting, skillfully executed settings remained characteristic of his management. His settings and costumes began to be regularly noted for their realism. Typical is this comment about *The Rogue's March* in 1872: "There was a good deal of excellent stage carpentry visible, and the scenery, although not brilliant, was quite realistic. The different mountain views were true to nature, and the interiors were remarkable for a homely correctness of detail equally agreeable to the sense."[12] Control of production,

[10] *Chicago Tribune*, November 11, 1873, p. 4.
[11] February 10, 1874, p. 4.
[12] *Chicago Tribune*, October 1, 1872, p. 4.

however, was slowly slipping from McVicker's hands. Traveling managers from New York accompanied the combination companies on their tours. There is evidence that between 1869 and 1879 traveling companies began to bring at least some scenery with them.

McVicker's position in Chicago fluctuated somewhat throughout the period. The reopening of his rebuilt theatre on the night of August 15, 1872, caused a furor. The poor performance of his stock company during the middle years of the period had an unfavorable effect upon public opinion, but this effect was countered by admiration for his efforts to operate independently of the combination system during the last two years. These efforts stalled badly when on July 29, 1878, he was forced to declare bankruptcy. A number of factors were involved besides his fight against theatrical domination by New York, but whatever the reasons, the hard truth was that McVicker was insolvent. Those whom he had been fighting were quick to lay the blame on his stubborn resistance to the combination system. Said an unidentified New Yorker who was quoted in the *Chicago Tribune*:

> I believe Mr. McVicker's failure is, in a great part, due to his obstinacy. When he conceived and began to excute an idea he would not give it up. He has lost a great deal of money by endeavoring to run a first-class stock company in Chicago. He took the Union Square Theatre in this city as a model, engaged fine performers, among whom were three or four good leading men, and then snapped his fingers at the stars, saying: "I can do without stars." Perhaps he has now discovered he was mistaken.[13]

McVicker's fight had for the first time pushed him into national prominence. He emerged as a champion of the local stock system amongst provincial managers. Shortly after his financial failure, and only a few months before he abandoned his resident company, his views were aired in an interview with the *New York Tribune*. He was asked, "Are the members of the profession as carefully trained now as formerly?" His answer was a complete statement of the case of the stock company versus the combination system.

The flush times after the Civil War, he said, had created a great demand for actors, and, because enough good actors were not available to form permanent resident companies in all the towns that wanted them, the combination system was born to meet the demand. The worst effect of this change, he stated, was the decrease in the number of companies where young actors might receive training. Secondly, said McVicker, the new system breaks the intimate relationship formerly held between a resident company and its regular patrons. "It destroys the care and thoroughness which performers would be obliged to bestow were they living in one city. They are in one place today and a long way off tomorrow, and they care little what is thought of them in one town, as they are not relying on its support." The manager of the permanent company is also at a financial disadvantage, concluded McVicker. The combination companies are usually composed of actors temporarily at liberty who are "picked up" from the New York companies, provided with a play, settings, and a name from one of the New York theatres, and sent out to profit on that reputation. "They come to Chicago," McVicker explained, "and play at some theatre which they can get cheap. Being under little expense for mounting, they advertise liberally and are generously treated by the newspapers. They remain for a short time and do a good business."[14]

[13] *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1878, p. 5.

[14] Cited from the *New York Tribune* by the *Chicago Tribune*, December 28, 1878, p. 3.

These seven years mark a transitional period in the history of McVicker's management. They were his most precarious years in Chicago. McVicker was one of the last of the managers outside New York to succumb to the combination system.[15] Men who valued artistic independence fought the system. In the end he was forced to give in.

1879-1896

During the late seventies and early eighties larger and more modern theatres had been erected in Chicago. When Haverly's Theatre was lit by electricity in April 1883, McVicker, who had made no major repairs since 1872, had to follow suit; his theatre's position as Chicago's principal house was jeopardized. In a characteristic move he not only installed electric lights, but rebuilt the entire theatre. Fortunately, a stage plan of this theatre exists in the William Seymour Theatre Collection at the Princeton University Library, and from it an accurate picture of the stage and stage-house can be obtained. The proscenium opening was 34 feet, 6 inches wide. The stage itself was 79 feet wide, rose 59 feet to the rigging loft, and was 48 feet, 6 inches deep. The stage floor contained five grooves and five traps. A number of important changes were made: (1) The stage was brought closer to the audience; (2) the proscenium arch was lowered substantially and widened slightly; (3) the chandelier in the auditorium was removed; (4) private boxes—twelve in all—were reinstituted; (5) a gallery was added above the two balconies; (6) the number of exits was increased to twenty-six; (7) the main entrance to the auditorium was widened; and (8) new automatic spring-seat chairs were installed on the lower floor.

Fire struck the theatre on August 26, 1890. Destruction was not as complete as in 1871, but damages totaled about $100,000. McVicker rebuilt and the theatre was reopened on March 30, 1891. Some changes were made. The building was made slightly taller: the stage rose 70 feet to the rigging loft. The new stage house included two fly-galleries. The proscenium opening was 34 feet, 5 inches wide, and 28 feet, 10 inches high, and was semi-circular, rather than rectangular. The stage was 79 feet wide and 48 feet deep. The floor contained three grooves and five traps. A definite improvement was made in the placement of lighting facilities:

> Lights . . . perfectly illuminate the auditorium without dazzling the eyes of the spectators. The incandescent burners are so masked and placed that the light falls over the assembly in diffused, soft glow, and in such a way as to offer no interference with the view of the people. The chief feature is the absence of lights from the proscenium and vaulted sounding board, a most grateful departure from the prevailing mode.[16]

The only other major change was the removal of six of the boxes, the upper tier on each side.

During the 1879-96 period the afterpiece virtually disappeared. As a consequence the short farce was rarely presented. Comedies and full-length farces were played frequently, but by the 1881-82 season the short, one-act farce either preceding or following the principal piece of the evening was a thing of the past.

McVicker maintained his policy of devoting part of each season to standard plays. On several occasions McVicker presented standard plays with specially assembled companies. In the summer of 1885 and three years later in the sum-

[15] According to Edward William Mammen in *The Old Stock Company School of Acting* (Boston, 1945), the number of resident stock companies had dwindled from fifty in 1871 to eight or nine in 1880.

[16] *McVicker's Observanda* (Chicago, 1891).

mer of 1888 he presented, among others, *The School for Scandal*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, and *The Critic*. These were followed by two unique revivals. In 1888 McVicker produced with his own company *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It ran from July 30 to September 5. A year later he presented *The Tempest*, which ran from June 24, 1889, to August 10, 1889.

The majority of the plays performed during the 1879-96 period were contemporary melodramas and comedies. By this time the long run was the rule, and often the single play combination company remained as long as it could draw an audience. Rather than print a specific closing date for a production, the manager would announce the play to be performed "Until Further Notice." The Columbian Exposition was held in Chicago in 1893 and McVicker capitalized on the unusual surge of tourists by reviving *The Black Crook*. It ran twelve weeks, from March 27 to July 2, 1893, the longest run in the history of the theatre.

In 1892 McVicker organized one of his summer companies, enlisted the aid of James A. Herne, and set about producing three of Herne's plays. He first produced the new play, *Shores Acres Subdivision*, which he rechristened *Uncle Nat* after a week's run. Later the play was retitled *Shore Acres*. The other two plays produced were *My Colleen* and *Margaret Fleming*. The venture lasted two months, after which McVicker reverted to the combination system.

After disbanding his permanent company in 1879, McVicker, except when he organized one of his summer companies, was dependent upon outside sources for the actors performing at his theatre. At first newspapers were critical of the new system; doleful warnings appeared frequently. Very quickly, however, newspaper opinion changed. Within two years the old stock system was severely criticized: "The mingled horrors and atrocities," said the *Tribune*, "that were perpetrated on the people of the community in the guise of stock companies survive in the memories of playgoers only as disorganized nightmares." The people of Chicago, it added, had no interest in going to the theatre to see "raw and half-baked" actors being trained "at the expense of a vast aggregated woe among their auditors."[17]

McVicker himself underwent a change of heart, although not nearly so quickly. In March 1888, after Madame Modjeska had stated her hope for a return to the stock system, McVicker was asked to comment. His answer indicated that the wounds of ten years before had healed considerably. "As an actor," he said, "I can understand her hoping for it, but as a manager I can see her hope will never be realized. There is no good reason why it should be, for the public are better served by the 'combination system.'" The old stock actor recalls with pleasure his special relationship with the townspeople, he stated, but the passage of time will cure this. "The young theatre-goer does not know what it is to have a favorite in the same light that the old one used to have one. The actor misses his reception and the auditor his favorite, but the play is better given."[18]

Eighty-nine stars appeared at McVicker's during this period. Joseph Jefferson made seventeen appearances, including two in combination with William Florence; Denman Thompson made twelve; Lotta, eleven; Mr. and Mrs. Florence, nine; and Annie Pixley, nine. The number of stars visiting the

[17] *Chicago Tribune*, May 29, 1881, p. 20.
[18] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1888, p. 27.

theatre decreased yearly as more and more single play combination companies without stars made their appearance. In these the play appears to have been more important than the company; advertisements frequently made no mention of the company. A few outstanding companies, however, combined features of both systems. These companies, without stars, visited the theatre for several weeks, and presented a different play at one or two week intervals. In these cases the reputation of the company performing was as important as the plays performed. Such companies included the J. C. Duff Standard Theatre Company, Abbey's New York Park Theatre Company, Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre Company, and A. M. Palmer's Union Square Company.

Responsibility for the settings of the plays produced during the 1879-96 period, as in the period just before, is difficult to establish. McVicker employed scenic artists for a number of years, and there is evidence that he kept stock scenery on hand throughout the entire period. By 1880, however, many traveling companies were carrying their own scenery. In some cases McVicker's artists painted scenery to supplement that carried by the traveling company, or painted entire settings for the company which did not carry its own scenery. In most cases the ideas for the scenery were probably conceived by the traveling managers. During the eighties many provincial theatres came to rely upon scenery "factories" for settings. Although the most successful factory was in Chicago, there is no evidence that McVicker ever made use of its services. Instead, he remained as conscientious in the execution of his settings as he had been in the earlier periods.

McVicker's position of esteem in Chicago is demonstrated by his reception on the night of March 30, 1891—the opening of the restored theatre. The occasion was a nostalgic one, the two veteran actors, Joseph Jefferson and William Florence, marking the event with a performance of the old favorite, *The Rivals*. The audience sensed that this was one of the last times public tribute might be paid the manager, who had survived the rigors of forty-three years of Chicago show business:

> The first act of "The Rivals" had scarcely ended before a roar went up for McVicker. He came out smiling and bowing, but he did not make a speech. He told the audience to wait a little. The audience waited impatiently until the end of the second act, when it roared again. Mr. McVicker declined to respond. At length the concluding lines were spoken and the curtain fell. Then a wave of applause beat against the traders' shanties on the Lake-Front and threatened to drive them over the river. Mr. Jefferson pushed his old friend before the footlights, and the audience rose and cheered and the ambitious manager bowed and bowed with his hand on his heart. When the house was quiet he began in trembling tones to speak . . . . [When he finished] the old manager bent his white head to the cheers of the audience. An immense bunch of roses was tossed up to him. He walked across the stage to where Mrs. McVicker sat in a box and handed the flowers to her. Then he waved his farewell and went behind the scenes, the audience thundering behind him.[19]

On March 7, 1896, McVicker died, after thirty-nine years as Chicago's leading manager. He was seventy-four years old. Two years later his wife relinquished her interests, and control of the theatre bearing his name passed from the McVicker family.

James H. McVicker's significance lies in his position as a typical first-class manager outside New York City. His career reflects certain changes which were typical of theatre throughout the country: the change from nightly or bi-

[19] *Chicago Tribune*, March 31, 1891, p. 1.

nightly changes of bill to the long run; the disappearance of the afterpiece and the short farce; the rise of spectacular realistic scenery and the growing demands of audiences for "realism" in setting and costume; the growth of the stage house and the disappearance of proscenium boxes; and the change from the permanent resident company to the traveling combination company. McVicker's summer revivals of resident stock companies during the late eighties and early nineties typify one of the theatre's most recent changes. They are early examples of the only form in which the resident stock company has survived. Finally, and most importantly, his career spans the turbulent period when theatrical control was slowly centering in New York and when independent theatrical activity in all other cities was being snuffed out. The career of McVicker—his early years as a creative theatre artist and his gradual decline to the rank of "janitor"—reflects that development, symbolizing the reduction in status of the provincial theatre manager in America.

THE KEYNOTE SPEECH AT NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

Edwin A. Miles

ON July 7, 1896, the Democratic party opened its seventeenth national convention in the Chicago Coliseum. A great monetary issue divided the delegates into two hostile camps: the inflationists of the South and West demanded that the party platform endorse the "free and unlimited coinage of silver"; with equal vigor their eastern opponents advocated the adoption of a sound-money, gold-standard plank. This ever-widening rift within the Democracy led to the first keynote speech—now an essential item on the agenda of all national nominating conventions.

The Democratic National Committee had selected Senator David B. Hill of New York, an outspoken Gold Democrat, to be temporary chairman of the convention. The Silver delegates vigorously protested. In an unprecedented maneuver, they proposed a candidate of their own—Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia. The latter was a courtly ex-Confederate who had been permanently crippled during the Wilderness Campaign of 1864. Endowed with a silver tongue, he had waged for several years a war of words against the gold standard; his friends now wanted him to make a speech "that should be a keynote for a silver crusade."[1] A militant coalition of southern and western delegates elected their candidate. When the "Lame Lion" of the Old Dominion took possession of the presiding officer's chair, he "sounded the keynote for silver in a ringing speech"—according to one press dispatch.[2]

On the following day William Jennings Bryan electrified the convention with his celebrated "Cross of Gold" speech—and Senator Daniel's address found a niche in the limbo of unremembered speeches. But the precedent was not forgotten. In the American political vocabulary, "keynoter" became a synonym for temporary chairman of a national nominating convention—until 1952 when General Douglas MacArthur served as Republican keynoter but not as temporary chairman.

In present-day politics the keynote speech has two primary purposes: to raise the enthusiasm of the delegates to a high pitch and to rally the voters of the nation to the party's standard. Loud cheers, sustained applause, and prolonged demonstrations are apt to greet the more impassioned passages of the orator. His language is inclined to be bombastic, for custom demands that he "avoid no extravagance of speech, either in praise or in blame" in glorifying the brilliant accomplishments of his own party or in lamenting the dismal failures of the opposition.[3] Referring to the Republican and Democratic keynote speeches of 1936, the New York *Times* editorialized: "No man from Mars who heard Senator Barkley last night and Senator Steiwer a fortnight ago would be likely to guess that the two men were talking about the same country."[4]

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1 New York *Times*, July 8, 1896.

2 Raleigh *News and Observer*, July 8, 1896.

3 New York *Times*, June 24, 1936.

4 *Ibid.*

Each presidential election year the party's National Committee designates the keynoter several weeks in advance of the convention. Unless there is a wide split within the party, as among the Democrats in 1896, the convention elects him by acclamation. If an incumbent President is seeking re-election, he has a prominent voice in selecting the keynote speaker. On the other hand, if the party has several aspirants for the nomination, the keynoter is usually not associated with any major candidate. Nor is the orator himself generally regarded as a contender for the presidency.

Senator Daniel was not the first temporary chairman—or president *pro tem*—of a national nominating convention; such gatherings had been meeting quadrennially since the days of Andrew Jackson.[5] Yet he was the first to realize and exploit fully the oratorical possibilities of the role. Earlier temporary chairmen usually said no more than a brief word of gratitude before they turned to their primary task, presiding over the convention while the permanent organization was being made.[6] The remarks of Francis B. Flournoy of Arkansas to the Democratic Convention of 1860 in Charleston were typical: "Gentlemen of the Convention: I thank you most sincerely for the honor you have done me, and I shall endeavor to bring about a speedy organization of this body. Again thanking you for the honor you have conferred, I enter upon the discharge of the duties you have assigned me."[7] Quite appropriate, but hardly a keynote speech.

During the nineteeth century the political parties usually tendered the office of temporary chairman to a distinguished member of the party in recognition of his services. Oratorical eloquence was not regarded as a primary consideration. In 1872, for example, the Democratic National Committee chose Thomas Jefferson Randolph, grandson of the "Sage of Monticello"—the party's patron saint. Randolph was an octogenerian whose thin voice was scarcely audible beyond the first few rows. He made no attempt to address the delegates and soon yielded the gavel to the permanent chairman.[8]

After Senator Daniel's precedent-making address, Democrats and Republicans alike adopted the keynote speech as a regular feature of their national nominating conventions.[9] On some occasions the keynote speech has played a significant role in presidential campaigns: in 1912 bitter battles over the choice of the temporary chairman at both major conventions were indicative of the animosity between the progressive and conservative wings of the two parties; in

[5] The Antimasonic Convention of October 1831 in Baltimore is generally considered the first national nominating convention. John Rutherford of New Jersey was temporary chairman (*Niles' Weekly Register*, XLI [October 8, 1831], 107).

[6] Prior to 1896 a few temporary chairmen made speeches that lasted perhaps ten or fifteen minutes—e.g., Judge Robert Emmett of New York at the Republican National Convention of 1856 and Robert J. Breckenridge of Kentucky at the National Union (Republican) Convention of 1864 (New York *Daily Times*, June 18, 1856; New York *Times*, June 8, 1864). On the whole, however, the early temporary chairmen merely returned thanks for the honor and proceeded to the organization of the convention. In 1884 the Republican Convention rejected the National Committee's choice of Powell Clayton of Arkansas as temporary chairman, but not for the purpose of permitting his successful rival, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, to deliver a speech. Lynch's remarks were reported verbatim in one short paragraph in the New York *Times*, June 8, 1884.

[7] *Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention Convened at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860* (Washington, 1860), p. 3.

[8] New York *Times*, July 10, 1872.

[9] Democratic Senator Charles S. Thomas and Republican Governor Edward O. Wolcott—both Coloradans—delivered long speeches as temporary chairmen of their respective conventions in 1900. (*Ibid.*, June 20, July 5, 1900.)

1916 the Democratic keynoter set the tone for the successful campaign waged by Woodrow Wilson for re-election, and the Republican keynote speaker received national attention that may have influenced his own nomination for the presidency four years later; in 1948 the Democratic keynoter, Alben Barkley, so captivated his audience that the delegates chose him as the party's nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

Theodore Roosevelt was perhaps the first President to recognize the importance of the temporary chairman's speech. In 1904 he at first proposed that Secretary of War Elihu Root be made permanent chairman of the Republican convention. Then someone informed him "that it was the temporary and not the permanent chairman . . . who made the real address." "If this is so," he wrote Root, "we must have you for temporary chairman. There is no particular point in acting as presiding officer during the two or three days of the convention. The point is to deliver the big speech which is to go forth as setting the note of the convention and the campaign."[10] With Roosevelt's blessing, the Republican National Committee designated Root as temporary chairman. The President drew up a long list of praiseworthy accomplishments of his administration for inclusion in the keynote speech. After reading the final draft, he wired Root: "Cannot express too strongly how immensely pleased I am with your speech."[11]

But Roosevelt was far from "immensely pleased" when the National Committee again chose Root—then a Senator from New York—as the Republican keynoter in 1912. Root favored President William Howard Taft for a second term and opposed Roosevelt's bid for another presidential nomination. The former President vigorously opposed the Committee's choice. Although he had once praised Root as "the ablest man in public life of this or any other country," he now condemned him as the "representative of the men and the policies of reaction."[12] Roosevelt angrily wrote to an associate that the Senator had "no business to be put in a position where he is to deliver the keynote speech if I am to be made the nominee."[13]

A long and hard-fought battle ensued on the floor of the party's Chicago convention, which opened on June 18. Root was finally elected temporary chairman, defeating Wisconsin's Governor Francis McGovern, the choice of Roosevelt and his followers. At 7:30 P.M., eight hours after the delegates had assembled, Root began the delivery of his keynote speech. By that time even the most ardent Taft men in the audience were so exhausted that they showed little enthusiasm for his oratory.[14] The failure of the progressive Republicans to elect their candidate as keynoter foreshadowed their defeat at the convention and the subsequent organization of the Bull Moose party.

A similar struggle took place at the Democratic convention which opened one week later in Baltimore. The progressive wing of the party, led by William Jennings Bryan, opposed the nomination of Judge Alton B. Parker, a conservative, as temporary chairman. While conceding Parker's integrity, Bryan argued that "not every one of high character and good intent is a fit man to sound the keynote of a progressive campaign."[15] Although the "Great

[10] Roosevelt to Root, March 24, 1904, in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, 1951-1954), IV, 763-764.

[11] Roosevelt to Root, June 14, 1904, *ibid.*, 833.

[12] *Literary Digest*, XLIV (June 15, 1912), 1237.

[13] Roosevelt to William Rockhill Nelson, May 28, 1912, in Morison (ed.), *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, VII, 550-551.

[14] *New York Sun*, June 19, 1912.

[15] William Jennings Bryan, *A Tale of Two Conventions* (New York, 1912), p. 138.

Commoner" himself opposed Parker for the honor, the conservatives won by a narrow margin. But it proved to be a hollow victory. "When Judge Parker began his speech," wrote William Allen White, "the galleries rose and walked out, a brutal noisy crowd, and left a rather dazed old gentleman reading a long manuscript, nervously looking over his glasses at the vanishing crowd. Finally, in sorrow and despair he cut his speech in two."[16] Although a conservative delivered the keynote speech, the progressives enjoyed the final triumph; the nominee, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, was chosen from their ranks.

"Let us Forget 1912" was the theme of the Republican keynote speech in 1916. The temporary chairman, a Senator from Ohio, endeavored to heal the wounds of the Progressive schism with a speech designed to anger none and please all within the party. Although he received one presidential vote on the second ballot, few persons then dreamed that the orator—Warren G. Harding—would be the Republican standard bearer four years later. But Will Hays, who subsequently became Harding's postmaster general, credited the speech with boosting the Ohioan's presidential chances in 1920. He later stated that there was no doubt about the "impression that speech of Harding's made on everyone who was in that convention."[17]

As Republican keynoter, Harding spoke in the bombastic style of oratory for which he was later to become famous. He displayed a great fondness for alliteration: he condemned Wilson's Mexican policy as one of "watchful waiting and wabbling warfare"; he declared that the administration's defense of American neutral rights embodied "more rhetoric than resolution"; and he denounced "Democratic insufficiency and inefficiency." Then the consonants really rolled as he directed his criticism to an act establishing a federal nitrate plant "to supply powder to the patriots and pap to the paternalists and Federal fertilizers to the farmer in competition with private enterprise."[18]

That year the Democratic leaders hoped to stress "Americanism" at their St. Louis convention. But the delegates were in a different mood. They were more responsive to those portions of the keynote speech that praised peace. Former Governor Martin H. Glynn of New York, the temporary chairman, recited incident after incident from American history to illustrate his contention that the United States had not always resorted to belligerent action when provoked by other nations. "If Washington was right, if Hamilton was right, if Lincoln was right," he declared, "then the President of the United States is right today." As he listed each precedent, the enthusiastic audience punctuated his speech with chants of "What did we do?" or "Say it again"—invariably followed by the orator's "We didn't go to war." William Jennings Bryan reportedly "wept with emotion as Glynn pictured the victories of peace."

"It was a total derangement of the plans of the leaders," reported the New York *Times*, "and they were stupefied. It was one of the most dramatic scenes in the history of national conventions.

[16] William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson, The Man, His Times, and His Task* (Boston, 1924), p. 254.

[17] Mark Sullivan, *Our Times; The United States, 1900-1925* (New York, 1926-1935), VI, 27. After listening to Harding's speech, Jerome H. Remick, a delegate from Michigan, wrote Arnold Augutus Schantz of Detroit that it "was wonderful. I would not at all be surprised to see him the nominee of the Republican party, and he will be some standard bearer." (Dorothy V. Martin, "An Impression of Harding in 1916," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LXII [April, 1953], 179.)

[18] New York *Times*, June 8, 1916.

Glynn himself was totally unprepared for it, so much so that he had intended to leave out large parts of this section of the speech, thinking it would be uninteresting and could as well be left for perusal in the newspapers." But the audience would not permit him to omit any portion of it. "It was probably the first time in the history of conventions that one of them ever became frantic with joy over a mere recital of diplomatic precedents, the effect of which the orator himself doubted so seriously that he intended to skip over them."[19]

The reaction to Glynn's keynote speech altered the course of the campaign. In his address as permanent chairman, Senator Ollie M. James of Kentucky also emphasized how Wilson had "kept the country out of war."[20] "He kept us out of war" became the most popular slogan of the successful Democratic campaign.

During the 1920's the American public was brought into closer contact with the party keynoters through the media of motion pictures, radio, and the press. Newsreel cameramen were on hand to photograph Republican orator Henry Cabot Lodge in 1920—to the great annoyance of the delegates who objected vehemently to the blinding kleig lights.[21] The keynote speeches of 1928 were the first to be broadcast over a nationwide radio hook-up.[22]

That was also one of the years that Will Rogers attended the conventions in the role of a newspaper columnist. A staunch Democrat, the Oklahoman reserved his sharpest barbs for Senator Simeon D. Fess of Iowa, the Republican keynoter. According to his interpretation of the Senator's speech, the Republicans were responsible for "radio, telephone, baths, automobiles, savings accounts, enforcement, workmen living in houses and a living wage for Senators." On the other hand, "the Democrats had brought on war, pestilence, debts, disease, boll weevil, gold teeth, need of farm relief, suspenders, floods, famines, and Tom Heflin." So lavish was the orator's praise of retiring President Calvin Coolidge that Rogers "thought sure he was referring to 'Our Saviour' till they told me, 'no it was Coolidge.' The way he rated 'em was Coolidge, the Lord, and then Lincoln."[23]

The cowboy-humorist was also present at the Democratic convention in 1932 when Alben W. Barkley, then a Senator from Kentucky, delivered probably the longest keynote speech ever made. It lasted well over two hours. ("What do you mean 'note'?" inquired Rogers. "This was no note. This was in three volumes."[24]) Barkley's Chicago audience was eagerly receptive, particularly to his blunt demand for a repeal of prohibition; that declaration alone ushered in a tumultuous forty-five minute demonstration. When Democratic National Chairman Jim Farley criticised the address as "too long," Barkley replied that he "had not anticipated talking to such a vociferously thirsty crowd."[25]

Barkley holds the distinction of delivering three keynote speeches—more than any other orator. He delivered a second—albeit shorter—address as temporary chairman of the Democratic convention in 1936.[26] His third keynote speech, in 1948, as has been noted, played an important part in his elevation to the office of "Veep." While

[19] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1916.
[20] *Literary Digest*, LII (June 24, 1916), 1828.
[21] New York *Times*, June 9, 1920.
[22] Graham McNamee, "The Elephant and the Donkey Take the Air," *American Magazine*, CVI (November, 1928), 15, 152-156.
[23] New York *Times*, June 13, 1928.
[24] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1932.
[25] Alben W. Barkley, *That Reminds Me* (Garden City, 1954), p. 141.
[26] New York *Times*, June 24, 1936.

President Harry S. Truman watched the proceedings on television, Barkley captured the imagination of the Democratic convention with an "old-fashioned spell-binding attack" on the Republican party. Although he constantly revised his speech as he delivered it—in order to cut it short—the applause was so frequent and prolonged that the address lasted 68 minutes. The enthusiasm of the delegates set in motion the wheels of an irresistible bandwagon: Barkley for Vice President.[27]

Most keynoters have been possessors of high political office. Since 1900 thirteen United States Senators, nine Governors or former Governors, three Representatives (including one Speaker of the House), and one cabinet member, have addressed Republican or Democratic conventions as keynote speakers. Prior to 1952 there were only three keynoters who did not fall into one of these categories, and all of them were Democrats: former jurist Alton B. Parker in 1912; National Chairman Homer S. Cummings in 1920; and historian Claude G. Bowers in 1928.

At their convention in 1952 the Republicans made a sharp break with tradition by selecting General of the Army Douglas MacArthur to deliver their keynote speech. There were several unusual circumstances concerning his designation as keynoter. For the first time, this task was assigned to a military figure. In addition, the General was closely identified with the forces supporting Ohio's Senator Robert A. Taft, one of the two principal contenders for the nomination. Since MacArthur was neither a delegate nor a parliamentarian, the duties heretofore performed by the temporary presiding officer were assigned to two individuals: Walter S. Hallanan of West Virginia was the temporary chairman; he introduced MacArthur who then delivered the keynote speech.[28]

In 1956 the Republican National Committee again separated the functions of temporary chairman and keynoter. Senator William F. Knowland of California served as temporary presiding officer while Governor Arthur B. Langlie of Washington delivered the keynote speech.[29] At the Democratic convention, however, Governor Frank G. Clement of Tennessee performed as both temporary chairman and keynote speaker.[30]

In the summer of 1960 delegates of both parties will meet once again in national nominating conventions to select candidates and draw up platforms for another presidential campaign. The proceedings will probably be streamlined for the benefit of millions of television viewers across the nation, but undoubtedly the keynote speech will be the highlight of the first day's activities at both conventions. Since the Democrats will be seeking to wrest the presidency from the Republicans, the two keynoters will survey the American political scene from different points of view; i.e., the Republican will "point with pride" and the Democrat will "view with alarm." Yet, judging from the past, the two addresses will probably follow a similar pattern: each orator will remind the delegates of the solemnity of the hour and the importance of their decisions; he will recount in detail the principles and accomplishments of his party; he will hold up his opponents to ridicule and scorn; and he will make a plea for a united effort by his party to achieve victory in November. For such has become the traditional role of the keynote speech at national nominating conventions.

[27] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1948.

[28] *Ibid.*, July 8, 1952.
[29] *Ibid.*, August 21, 1956.
[30] *Ibid.*, August 14, 1956.

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ADLAI E. STEVENSON'S SPEECH STAFF IN THE 1956 CAMPAIGN

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A MAJOR campaign speech of a presidential candidate may take but thirty minutes to deliver, but it may represent the end product of fifty staff members devoted to research, planning, and writing. In this paper a study is made of the organization, purpose, and function of Adlai Stevenson's 1956 speech staff. Some questions are answered. What pre-1956 campaign planning was carried on? What research was done prior to the writing of the campaign speeches? How did Stevenson select his speech staff and whom did he select? How was the speech-writing staff organized? How was the speech occasion planned? How were the campaign speeches prepared?

The Pre-1956 Campaign Planning

In 1952 Stevenson felt himself ill-prepared to discuss certain issues of national and international importance. Because of the suddenness of his nomination that year, and because he had not planned to run for president, he found himself seriously lacking in source material to be used in the preparation of his campaign speeches. After 1952 he was determined that if he ran again he would be fully informed on every issue and would also have an abundance of material. Late in 1953 he expressed these sentiments to several of his friends. One friend was Thomas K. Finletter, former Secretary of the Air Force and Marshall Plan Administrator to England in 1949. While there he had observed the way the out-of-power Conservatives planned their way back to victory over Labor. They had, he recalled, conducted frequent and lengthy discussions of national issues and had settled on a "program" for each. This, he observed, might be a splendid idea for Stevenson to consider.

When Stevenson expressed his interest in the idea, Finletter asked his friend, Harvard economist J. K. Galbraith, to assist him in planning a series of "seminars" to be held at irregular intervals over the following two years, at which Stevenson would be briefed on issues by experts. Galbraith then enlisted the assistance of two fellow faculty members, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Seymour E. Harris, and meetings got under way in the autumn of 1953.

At an early meeting the group set up an agenda for future meetings and decided upon the function of the "seminars." The group was to be an *ad hoc*, policy-planning organization, with the best brain power possible to prepare "positions" to be taken on various issues which might arise during the 1956 campaign. Stevenson himself insisted that the group be representative of as many different views on each issue as possible so that prudent choices might be made.[1]

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[1] Adlai E. Stevenson, *The New America*, ed. Seymour E. Harris, John Bartlow Martin, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (New York, 1957). In the introduction the editors discuss the "Finletter Seminars" and include a list of those who attended. Stevenson's main speeches of the 1956 campaign are given in this book.

The "Finletter group," as it was called, explored new ideas and problems, operating under the premise that most of the old issues on which the Democrats had held power for twenty years were no longer vital. At meeting after meeting the group examined such issues as education, mental health, national defense, agriculture, due process in security cases, federal tax structure reorganization, natural resources, labor, veterans, nuclear energy, and even juvenile delinquency.

As to the method they used to examine these issues, one who was in attendance at most of the meetings explained it this way:

> We divided the issues, or what we thought were the issues, among the hard core, and then experts in certain areas were invited to come in to state their position and give background information that was needed.
>
> The man in charge of an issue, like Galbraith on farm policy, Harris on labor problems, Bowles on foreign policy, and so on, would prepare a paper ahead of time. This paper would be passed out, usually at the meetings in which the issue was to be discussed, but sometimes ahead of time.
>
> After the papers were submitted and our expert gave us his findings on the issue, a lively, and sometimes hot discussion would ensue. I don't know what Stevenson learned from these sessions, but I learned plenty.[2]

After each meeting a secretary would summarize the findings and recommendations of the group into what the members called "position papers." During the summer of 1956, before the Democratic Convention, Schlesinger, John Bartlow Martin, Robert Tufts, and others, went through these "position papers" and prepared what they called an "issue book" which contained condensations of each of the papers. One speech writer said, "We took this nebulous material, which wasn't exactly what we needed, and compiled a series of short, utilitarian program papers on each issue we felt might come up that fall." He thought these were "closer to outlines than essays, from two to six pages on each issue."

An examination of this "issue book" reveals the following contents: agriculture, veterans, health, labor, social security, defense, natural resources, fiscal policy, housing, highways, immigration, juvenile delinquency, loyalty-security, natural gas, nuclear energy, post-office, business, statehood, Indians, foreign aid, and foreign policy.

Under each of these issues material was subdivided according to a general plan: (1) the issue; (2) background of the issue; (3) Congressional proposals; (4) public opinion on the issue; (5) Republican position and record; (6) Democratic position and record; (7) attitude of organizations and people involved in the issue; (8) alternative recommendations; (9) Governor Stevenson's position; (10) recommended position.

Some major classifications were divided into "sub-issues," which were analyzed by the same ten-point approach. For example, subdivisions for Agriculture were: price supports, production payments, soil bank, soil conservation, drought and dust bowl, hog marketing premium payments, purchase of pork and other livestock to bolster prices, food stamp plan, school lunch and school milk program, disposition of farm surpluses abroad, rural electrification, farm credit, and so on.

From this issue book Stevenson's speech writers worked. They had at

[2] Because of the respondent's direct involvement in the campaign, the delicacy of the subjects discussed, the proximity of the campaign to the date of interviewing, and the fact that Stevenson is still active in politics, many interviewees did not wish to be identified with some or all of their remarks. In these cases the writer respected their wishes. Thirty-one Stevenson staff members were interviewed.

their finger-tips the nature and background of any issue Stevenson wanted to discuss, what position he had previously taken (with quotations), and what position he wished to take on it during the campaign. Stevenson's discussions with the seminar group assured him that he would have deliberated opinions on the range of issues during the campaign, that speech writers would not have to put ideas into his mouth at campaign time, but would know precisely what his opinions on the major issues were.

The Research Staff

In September 1955 John Brademas, former Rhodes Scholar and political science instructor, started the Stevenson research program. In February 1956 he was joined by Kenneth Hechler, formerly of Princeton and Columbia, in undertaking to provide Stevenson a reservoir of material to be used in preparing his addresses. In a small room at 231 South LaSalle Street in Chicago, with one secretary, Brademas began the job of assembling files of information on each of the issues the seminar group had dealt with. By the spring of 1956 the organization employed more than twenty people and occupied three large offices. To help prepare the Governor for his fall campaign, they had filled two dozen triple-drawer filing cases with material. Every public statement ever made by Eisenhower (that could be found) was included in a drawer marked "Ike—P.A.Q." (Policies, Actions, Quotations). There was a section, also, for each member of the Eisenhower Cabinet, and for most of his top administrative officials. Files were kept on the public record and the statements of leading political personalities, both Democratic and Republican. Each potential issue had a section of its own, from "agriculture" to "veterans." There were sections for major legislation pending in Congress, and the voting record of each member of Congress over a period of years.

State histories were available, and material for each state, to provide information on the political and economic interests of local areas Stevenson might visit. A catalogue containing Stevenson's views on many subjects he had spoken publicly about was assembled. Dubbed the "Adlaipedia," it was used frequently in the job of answering the more than 200 letters a day pouring into the Governor's Chicago office. Copies of all of Stevenson's speeches from 1948 to 1956 were on hand. Standard reference works were available, and *Congressional Record, Congressional Quarterly,* and *New York Times Index.*

A staff of secretaries clipped more than fifty daily and weekly newspapers and culled almost every magazine covering national and international politics for information likely to be of use at some stage of the campaign. Others spent their days, with volunteer help, at one of Chicago's public or law libraries, going through newspapers, magazines, periodicals for material on the 1953-1956 period.

By the time Stevenson was nominated, in August of 1956, two large trucks were needed to transport the research materials to Washington, D. C. There the material served as a reservoir. Kenneth Hechler went along to head the research that continued throughout the campaign. Philip Stern, former journalist, replaced John Brademas when he resigned to run for Congress in Indiana. In Washington the speech writers had access not only to the Chicago material, but also to the research files of the Democratic National Committee. As to the value of the research that had been done, one staff

member concluded, "The materials were plentiful, well-organized, and in most usable shape. They were invaluable, thanks to Hechler and Brademas."

The Selection of the Speech Staff

From the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt, a speech staff has been one of the first requirements of a Presidential candidate, and "ghost-writing" is no longer a term of disapproval. Adlai Stevenson, in 1952 and in 1956, had a "ghost-writing" staff, although he disliked admitting that any of his speeches were "ghost-written." He detests the idea of "ghost-writers" dashing off a speech, to be read automatically. This is not only a matter of a skilled workman's pride of authorship, it is a perpetually itching hairshirt of morality. To Stevenson there is something deceptive in this process. For the same reason, he dislikes the make-up, the teleprompters, and any of the gadgetry and devices of showmanship and political razzle-dazzle that tend to color a candidate. He feels that these artifices obscure from the people the one thing they must know—the real thoughts, personality, and character of the man they are asked to vote for. Nevertheless, for all of Stevenson's protestations, the burden of preparing and delivering almost 250 speeches in an eight-week period forced him to assemble a speech-writing staff in both campaigns.

Apparently Stevenson followed no organized pattern in selecting speech writers. He approached them because of their past performances for him, of former friendship, or of recommendations from friends of his, or because of what he knew of a particular person's reputation in a given area in which he needed expert help. An associate of Stevenson's suggested that he chose his writers from three groups, professional writers, professors, and lawyers. A look at the most important writers in the 1956 campaign would verify this. Five speech writers made up the hard core of Stevenson's staff during the 1956 campaign: W. Willard Wirtz, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Bartlow Martin, Robert Tufts, and William Lee Miller.

W. Willard Wirtz, a graduate of Harvard Law School, had taught law at Iowa and Northwestern. In the 1952 campaign he worked with the "Elks Club" branch of the Stevenson speech staff,[3] and after the campaign he joined Stevenson in forming a Chicago law firm. By the summer of 1956 he had become head of the speech staff. He worked more closely with Stevenson than any other staff member during the campaign, and he played a major role in the campaign decision-making. Wirtz has a keen and analytical mind and a wealth of background knowledge. This he brought to the speech staff, in addition to his coolness and deliberation in weighing problems. Wirtz thought and acted much like Stevenson; he was slow to commit himself on issues and campaign strategy, and he tended to see issues in terms of moderate rather than extreme stands.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Robert Tufts were the "professors" on the speech staff. Schlesinger, Harvard historian, brought to the speech staff the historian's perspective on current political issues. He had received the Pulitzer Prize in History for his *Age of Jackson*. With his readable and interesting style, including the colorful and pithy phrase, and his reservoir of knowledge, he made contributions to Stevenson's speeches

[3] For a time during the 1952 campaign two groups of speech writers operated simultaneously in Springfield, Illinois. One group, headed by David Cohn, worked at the Leland Hotel; the other group, headed by David Bell, operated at what was jocularly called the "Elks Club."

that closely resembled Stevenson's own style. Robert Tufts, of Oberlin College, brought a large amount of experience to the speech staff. For twelve years, 1940-1952, he had worked with the State Department in Washington. He had been a member of the State Department Policy Planning Staff during Truman's administration. Tufts knew foreign policy exceptionally well; he was no visionary, for he had spent too many years with the State Department to be that. He thought rapidly and wrote rapidly, and what he thought and wrote was based on his many personal experiences.

John Bartlow Martin and William Lee Miller represented the professional writers on the speech staff. Martin was the practical member of the speech staff who thought in terms of pragmatic approaches. He was without experience in politics, but he had an abundance of experience in dealing with people, in finding out what they thought and why they thought it. Martin was primarily a journalist. He had worked on the Indianapolis *Times* before settling down at his Highland Park, Illinois, home to become a free-lance writer. He had written for the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Harper's* regularly, and he had found time to write eight books. An assistant described him as the "Will it work?" man on the staff. He didn't have to wonder what the average voter would think of a speech; he knew, because he knew the average voter.

William Lee Miller was a theologian, and a contributor to *The Reporter* magazine. A relative newcomer to speech writing, he was regarded by his associates as a man with great capacity for thinking and writing. He had worked for Stevenson for a short period during the 1952 campaign.

Stevenson had, in addition to this permanent staff of speech writers, possibly as many as one hundred other contributors to his 1956 speeches. These contributors voluntarily submitted memoranda or drafts of speeches to Stevenson from time to time, or they were asked by him or Wirtz to submit material. In New York, John Fischer and Charles Bolte brought together a local Stevenson speech staff of fifty writers including John Gunther, Alan Jay Lerner, and Herman Wouk. This group met regularly during the campaign at the home of Cass Canfield. Occasionally Stevenson would meet with them. "He would outline to the group what he would like, and, in turn, the group would give him their ideas on what he should be saying in his speeches," one member of this group reported. Little of the work of this New York group found its way into Stevenson's addresses, although there were notable exceptions.

Stevenson's friends and acquaintances constantly sent him material, ranging all the way from a single quotation to a full thirty-page speech. Most of these contributors were either professional writers, professors, or lawyers. Among the educators were J. K. Galbraith, Seymour E. Harris, Adolf Berle, Lloyd Garrison, Barbara Ward Jackson, Samuel Huntington, Paul Nitze, Jerome Wiesner, Robert Wood, and Edward Trapnell. Among the professional writers were John Hersey, William V. Shannon, Philip Stern, Marya Mannes, Wesley McCune, and Irving Fox. Among the lawyers were Chester Bowles, David Lloyd, Dean Acheson, Stuart Gerry Brown, Thomas K. Finletter, and S. J. Spingarn.

Some speeches included contributions from a dozen or more people. The basic speech was usually begun by Schlesinger, Martin, or Tufts; Wirtz

was responsible for the "re-writes." Before a speech was given by Stevenson, portions of memoranda and drafts submitted by many others may have been added. The final product was a mosaic of the ideas of many minds, but always cast in Stevenson's own style.

The Organization of the Staff

What duties and responsibilities were assigned the various permanent speech writers? One speech writer had this to say in answer to the question: "I was hired with virtually no instructions as to responsibilities. All of us knew we were to write speeches, and after awhile we worked out our own organization and carved out our own domains and bailiwicks." Another writer agreed:

> The organization of the staff as to specific responsibilities is difficult to discuss. I really can't say as to my responsibilities, or anybody else's. Nobody ever told me. It's a strange thing. I guess a businessman would have had fits encountering organization like we had. We sort of flew by the seats of our pants some of the time.
>
> Stevenson, you see, had picked people in whom he had confidence. He had confidence in their judgment, in their writing ability, in their ability to work under pressure. Then he just pretty much left them alone to do the work. We knew when he was to speak and before whom. We knew his position on the issues. That's really about all we needed, except conferences with Wirtz, and occasionally with Stevenson, to check to see if we were doing things the way they should be done.

The organization of the Stevenson speech staff, then, was somewhat loose and amorphous, but sufficiently well harmonized to suit the needs of the candidate and the staff. The speech staff rarely conferred with Stevenson regarding their problems, although they were almost always represented in general staff meetings. "I can't remember," said one speech writer, "more than one or two times that the speech writers sat down with Stevenson to discuss what should be said in the speeches." There was apparently little need to do so. The writers knew, from the seminars, the position papers, and the issue book, what the Governor wanted to say. The chain of command varied, but the general pattern was for Stevenson to go over his future speech schedule with Wirtz a week to ten days before each speech and to make suggestions concerning his subject. Wirtz then passed on this information to the staff, and the preparation of the manuscript was begun. Frequently, however, by the time a draft of a speech had been prepared, Stevenson had decided to stress some other issue. It was then the job of Wirtz, and whatever speech writer accompanying the group that week, to prepare a new draft altogether. Rarely, though, was a prepared draft completely discarded.

Planning the Speech Occasion

The success or failure of a campaign speech may depend on elements other than the preparation and delivery of the speech itself. A speech given in an area already hopelessly lost to the opposition is of little value to the candidate's cause. A speech given to a half-empty auditorium may do more harm than good to a campaign. A poor reception for a candidate making a speech may present psychological problems. A speech that receives poor nation-wide publicity does the candidate little good. So a presidential candidate must have in addition to a staff which assists in preparing his speeches, a group to plan when and where he is to speak and make the necessary arrangements for the occasion, and a division to use mass media to transmit to the public the message and image of the candidate. In 1956 Stevenson chose James H. Rowe, Jr., former administrative assistant to

Franklin D. Roosevelt, to head his division of "invitations, itinerary, and advance work," and he chose George Ball, prominent Washington attorney, to direct his division of public relations.

The itinerary section of the 1956 Stevenson speech staff was one of the most interesting and important divisions. Between September 1 and November 5, Stevenson spent forty-four days on the road, traveling over 35,000 miles in visiting thirty-one states. The division owed much of its character to Rowe, the director. For the first two or three weeks after the convention much of the pressure was on Rowe's office. Thousands of party leaders over the country bombarded his office, urgently insisting that if Stevenson didn't visit their area they would lose it in November. Rowe had a long list of invitations. Invitations were received by Stevenson's office, and campaign manager James A. Finnegan had already committed Stevenson to speak at many places during the campaign, as had Democratic Treasurer Matthew McCloskey, who, according to Rowe, would promise Stevenson for occasions where campaign contributions seemed most likely. It was the job of Rowe and his staff to bring order out of this confusion of invitations and commitments.

Rowe compared planning a campaign speech itinerary with playing a chess game in which you couldn't possibly win. He wanted to avoid over-scheduling his candidate; he realized that an exhausted candidate couldn't make a very effective speech. He wanted to send his candidate to the places where the most good could be done. One of his chief goals was the big crowd, to get press attention and promote better national publicity for the Stevenson address. Therefore he tried to get Stevenson into a city at the right time, i.e., lunch hour or five o'clock. He liked to have his candidate make a big stop at each end of a campaign trip, and he wanted to book the candidate for as many whistle-stop or prop-stop speeches as possible. Finnegan wanted a "pinpoint" campaign, in which Stevenson was supposed to campaign "only in key areas in key states." There was no use, Stevenson's campaign manager felt, in sending his candidate to areas already won or lost.

After the middle of August, Rowe, with Senator Clinton Anderson, Finnegan, Wilson Wyatt, Dillon Meyer, William McCormick Blair, Jr., and a representative of an airline, got together for their first scheduling meeting. They decided to schedule Vice-Presidential Candidate Kefauver and Stevenson so they would not overlap. Finnegan briefed the group on what areas "needed to have the heat put on them," memoranda from Stevenson and Kefauver were read covering their ideas on the itinerary—when they wanted to start, how much speaking each wanted to do, what time they wanted off, and a list of any special places they wanted to go. Rowe described what happened after this:

> Then we got to our invitations in letters, telegrams, and phone calls. Each of us spoke for awhile and presented his own ideas. We then decided that Kefauver ought to stay pretty much in the Midwest and West and keep away from the South. Stevenson, we decided, ought to concentrate on the metropolitan areas. Next, we decided that Stevenson had to hit the industrial areas the last two or three weeks of his campaign. This meant he had to go elsewhere to fulfill obligations in September and early October. This was a headache, because nobody wants a candidate in September.
>
> Then we put down the inflexible dates we had, those places where we just had to be on a certain date. We listed places like the plowing contest in Iowa, a forest festival in West Virginia, a Madison Square Garden engagement. Then we tried to fit a schedule around

these. If Stevenson had to be in Iowa on September twentieth, then we started fitting engagements in that area. (He ended up in Denver that day, I believe.) Then we decided he might as well fulfill his obligations to the South, so we sent him to Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Florida. I believe he concluded that trip by speaking in Milwaukee and Minneapolis before returning to Chicago.[4]

Rowe thought that campaign scheduling ought to be thought out, but he confessed that it wasn't. "Rationality actually has little to do with it," he declared, "and I'm sure that every mistake that was made in 1952 was repeated in 1956. We wore out our candidate in both campaigns; we wasted time speaking in hopeless states in both."

Planning of the itinerary was a big job, but the real problems came in implementing the schedule. Wherever Stevenson was to speak arrangements had to be made—arrangements for 200 speeches in ten weeks. Two weeks before Stevenson was to speak at a given place, Rowe, after consultation with local politicians, prepared a final itinerary for the Governor's appearance on a minute-by-minute basis. The responsibility for keeping this schedule, for making the necessary arrangements for a successful Stevenson speech appearance, then fell to an "advance man" who had been trained by Rowe.

The advance man started out several days prior to Stevenson's appearance. He had with him the itinerary and a "Standard Operating Procedure" book which outlined in great detail dozens of tasks to be done before the campaign party arrived. He had to make necessary initial local contacts, to secure housing accommodations for the candidate, his staff, and more than fifty members of the working press, to prepare a work room for staff members, to set up press headquarters, to arrange for local transportation for the campaign entourage, to plan a large welcome for the candidate and for a motorcade into the city from the airport. He had to explore every possibility for ensuring crowds. He had to make preliminary arrangements for radio-television facilities to cover the candidate's arrival, and to arrange for Stevenson to appear on local programs. Finally he had to make arrangements for the meeting at which Stevenson would speak, and look after heat and ventilation, lighting, acoustics, crowd engineering, music, decorations, and even getting a room at the auditorium where Stevenson could relax before his speech.

Rowe had too few advance men and too many speeches to make arrangements for. Although they were unpaid, he thought he was fortunate in getting good men, such as Mike Monroney, Jr., Marty Friedman, and Gary Gesell. Rowe felt, too, that however successful any candidate's campaign speeches are, the work of the itinerary planning staff and his advance men contributes largely to that success. "They are the fellows," he said, "who never get the publicity, who get very few of the thank-yous, but without them any organized campaign would be impossible."

Preparing the Speech

After the research is finished, the speech-writing staff chosen and ready to work, and the speech occasion planned, the task of preparing a major campaign speech begins. Since the Stevenson speech writing staff offices in Washington were across the street from the Democratic Committee, they had access to the files and personnel of the National Committee. At the beginning of each week in the campaign, on a

[4] Information on itinerary and advance men was obtained in a personal interview with James H. Rowe, Jr. on July 10, 1958, in Washington, D. C.

Sunday, the staff would go over the schedule of Stevenson's speaking engagements, noting where the Governor was to speak, when, and to what audience. At these meetings Willard Wirtz would pass the word along, in person or by phone, concerning what the Governor wanted to talk about at each occasion. Sometimes he would merely indicate that Stevenson was to speak at a certain place and leave the matter of the subject to the staff. On the major speeches, however, Stevenson always indicated in clear terms what he wished to say.

Assignments for preparing the drafts of the speeches were made at these first-of-the-week sessions. Although no formula was worked out, there were some unwritten understandings. The speeches might be divided according to the issue to be discussed. In this case, Tufts might take foreign policy speeches, and Martin and Schlesinger would handle domestic issue addresses. When only domestic issue speeches were called for, Martin might take speeches on agriculture, health, and education; Schlesinger might take speeches on civil liberties, Eisenhower's leadership, "single-interest government," and Nixon. Tufts would work on matters of defense policy and perhaps labor. When a speech was concerned with more than one issue, the so-called multi-issue speech, "straws were drawn," according to a staff member. Speeches might be divided according to the type of audience or the location of the speech occasion. If Stevenson was to speak to a college or university audience, Schlesinger might begin the draft. If the candidate was to speak to the Americans for Democratic Action or the Liberal Party, again Schlesinger might take the assignment. If the speech was to be given in the Midwest, Martin's area, then he might take the speech. Martin enjoyed doing the "rally speech," as did Tufts, also. Schlesinger liked studio television speeches. There was no rule concerning what staff members drafted what kind of speech for a given audience and occasion. The situation varied considerably from week to week. Of importance in this process, also, was the fact that each week either Schlesinger or Martin joined Wirtz with the campaign entourage to work directly with Stevenson on the Washington group's previous week's products.

After the speech assignments were determined, the drafting process began. One staff member indicated what happened next:

> Then we'd start calling around the country for help. If the speech was to be in Great Falls, Montana, I'd call Montana and have material on local problems and local background on the way in no time. Then I might call the National Committee and have them send over any material they had on Montana Politics. I might call the Senators from Montana or the Congressmen and talk the speech over with them, or I'd call a state committeeman or the local chairman in charge of the speech.
>
> Frequently we'd call around the country for help in doing the drafts. We'd call Galbraith or Harris or Nitze or Bowles and tell them what Stevenson wanted to talk on, and they'd fire something back to us, maybe just a letter with some suggestions, or maybe a draft. And, of course, we'd comb our own files for material.
>
> As the deadline approached for the speech to be ready, one of us would take all this stuff and begin. I'd always have my outline in mind before I started. And I'd bang out a first draft and then pass it on to the others for comments and suggestions. Then, if there was time, I'd do another draft. Usually there wasn't, however.

Members of the staff generally agreed that analyzing the audience was an important phase of speech preparation, and that they spent a good deal of time doing it. The first phase, according to one writer, was simply recalling per-

sonal knowledge of the occasion and the probable audience. After this came the contacts with local people for their ideas and suggestions. This particular writer would usually discuss the speech with the advance man. Material would then be adapted accordingly. Television coverage made considerable difference in the writer's approach to the speech. If there was to be simply a local audience, then their interests and needs came first. If the speech was to be regionally televised, the scope of interest had to be expanded. If the speech were to be televised nationally the subject required far different approach and treatment. "If we were to discuss the farm problem nationally," another writer said, "the thing had to be pitched to the interests of a national audience—the consumer, the middle-man, cost-of-living, the importance of the farm to national prosperity. You had to picture your audience in your mind so that the speech would hit where it was supposed to hit."

The problems of analysis and adaption were usually increased when the staff members found themselves involved in "rally" speeches. One writer described the dilemma:

> We had to distinguish between rally speeches and the others and work accordingly. If the occasion was a rally, then it had to be a rally speech, or at least everyone said so, something to cheer about, something to excite hell out of everyone.
>
> In a rally speech you don't go into depth on anything at all. They are multi-issue speeches with a lot of assertions and charges. We called them 'shopping-bag speeches,' because you throw a little of everything into them.
>
> As you may have guessed, the big problem is when you have a rally speech to be telecast nationally. What kind of adaptation do you do here? You've got ten million people sitting in their living rooms watching, and 10,000 people at the rally. You've got to excite and please the party faithful who came out, but you've also got to please the ten million who may not be party faithful. This is an impossible situation, and it ought to be avoided in the future.

In preparing a draft of a speech for another person, there is the matter of adapting to the style and personality of the person delivering the speech. This was not so much a problem on the Stevenson staff as it might be with others, since Stevenson revised and edited. Nevertheless this was an important consideration, since the Stevenson style was so well known. One writer had this to say about the problem:

> When writing for Stevenson I start as though I were writing a speech for myself. I never outline a speech ahead of time, because I'm not sure just how I want to say it until I get into it.
>
> When I began writing for the Governor, I had to learn his style, so I could write more like he would write. I read most of his speeches as Governor and learned much about his general style, approach, and organization. You have to know the man, I think, to write for him. You have to listen to him a lot; you have to catch his personality and character and splash it all over your speech. After 1952 all this seemed to come as second nature, and that's why I said I write for him just like I was writing for myself.
>
> First you have to understand how Stevenson likes his speeches arranged. He doesn't like what you might call logical development of a subject. He prefers a disorganized development, or what seems to be disorganized, so that if his listener loses the thread of thought he can pick it up at any time. He loves to stir up a speech, to disconnect and disorganize it, like apples in a sack. Now, although his speeches appear to be disorganized, they really aren't, strange as it sounds. Actually, they have an inner-consistency, and the listener can climb back aboard if he falls off.
>
> Stevenson likes picturesque style; he likes vivid, strong language; he likes alliterations and plays on words.
>
> Actually, since Stevenson switches phrases, words, and ideas to such a great extent after a draft is done, the speech in the end sounded like him regardless. I sometimes think all we writers did was just to provide him with some facts and something close to his style.

What happened to a speech after the writers had a draft ready for Stevenson? Since Schlesinger and Martin took turns alternating between Washington and the field, the one on tour, when he joined the campaign plane, went directly to Wirtz with drafts. They would then go over the results of the week's work in Washington. By this time Wirtz usually had drafts and memoranda from the New York writers and other friends and associates. At times there were as many as six drafts for a given speech. Wirtz then combined the drafts into a speech to present to Governor Stevenson. He would generally start with the draft of the speech Martin or Schlesinger had brought, unless Stevenson had decided in the meantime to talk on another subject. To this draft would be added phrases, sentences, and even paragraphs and pages of the other memoranda and drafts. Some associates felt that this phase of speech preparation was a waste of time. One associate had this to say:

> Wirtz would start with the basic draft of a speech. Then he'd start pasting and cutting. He'd add something from another draft here; he'd put some of his own ideas in there; he'd check with the Governor; he'd call someone for information or advice. Or maybe the Governor had sent him a memo on something he wanted included.
>
> Now this to me represented quite a waste of time. A lot of time and thought had been put in on these speeches in Washington. Of course they needed revising, but they didn't need re-doing. Moreover, I couldn't see any sense in having so many people working on different drafts for a single speech. This extra effort meant time spent which could have better been used for something else, and occasionally it meant a speech that was not unified or coherent.

When a single draft of a speech was finished by Wirtz, usually several hours before Stevenson was to speak (sometimes a day before), it was presented to him. Associates felt that the Governor was always unhappy with this speech draft placed before him, and occasionally, they reported, he would comment, after reading it, that he simply could not give it. Nevertheless, after a long conference during which Wirtz, Schlesinger or Martin, and the Governor carefully went over the speech line by line, Stevenson would make enough alterations to convince himself that the speech "might work out" after all. Then the draft would go to the typist, and usually about three or four hours before Stevenson was to give the speech it would come back to him, neatly typed in big letters, triple-spaced, with approximately 125 words on each page. Then Stevenson would closet himself to do the final revising and editing.

That Stevenson spends vast amounts of time in editing his speeches is common knowledge. An examination of fifteen of his reading manuscripts used during the 1956 campaign reveals the amount and type of changes that he made in his speeches from the time the final draft was turned over to him until he delivered the speech. In the fifteen speeches Stevenson made 976 corrections in his "beavering away" process (as some staff members called it) on his manuscripts, for an average of sixty-five changes per speech. In three of these speeches (Portland, October 11; Cincinnati, October 19; Minneapolis, September 29) he made about 125 changes each. Of the changes, 723 were additions and 246 were deletions of words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs. Seven changes in position or development of paragraphs were made. Of the 723 additions, fourteen qualified or limited an assertion; 135 amplified a point or statement; 158 simplified or clarified; 216 gave more directness, force, or emphasis; 53 identified the speaker more strongly with the audience or oc-

casion; 130 increased the energy, color, or suggestiveness of language; 17 of them were changes in transitions. Of the 246 deletions, a majority were made to bring the speech within a time limit. About one-third of the deletions concerned redundant words, phrases, and sentences. The other deletions were made to make space for qualifications to statements and simplifying and clarifying thoughts.[5]

Stevenson's editorial work on a speech continued until the moment he stepped to the platform to deliver it. Even during the final few minutes before a speech, according to associates, he would worry about the wording of his speech. One associate reported that Stevenson would say. "I think this word makes the meaning much clearer, don't you?" The associate indicated that he usually agreed, although "sometimes it didn't." At this stage of speech preparation nobody found it profitable to argue with the Governor.

Even while delivering the speech Stevenson made extensive changes in his manuscript. In a sample of ten of his major campaign speeches he made 990 alterations in the manuscript during delivery, including additions, deletions, and spontaneous variations.[6] In one speech, at Newton, Iowa, he made 174 alterations during a forty-five minute speech.

The finished product that reached the ears of Stevenson's listeners, therefore, was something all Stevenson's own, regardless of who had worked on it. Said one writer, "He would tear the thing apart and put it back together until he had it the way he wanted it." What may be most important is not the description of the preparation of a Stevenson campaign speech, but rather the impact of the process on the candidate. More bluntly, did Stevenson's speech staff run the campaign or did Stevenson? Whatever may be the case with other candidates, one may well conclude that a speech by Stevenson was a speech of Stevenson. Through the seminars and his own experience he knew the issues of the campaign; through his selection of speech writers, the program papers, and the issue book his writers knew his position on the issues; and through his extensive revision and editing his speeches expressed almost always what he himself believed. In answer to the question, naive as it may be, "Did Stevenson write his own speeches?" one would almost have to reply, "Yes, he did."

[5] This information was obtained by comparing copies of press releases of each speech with Stevenson's reading manuscript.

[6] This information was obtained by comparing copies of Stevenson's reading manuscript with taped recordings of the speeches.

TOULMIN ON ARGUMENT: AN INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION

Wayne Brockriede and Douglas Ehninger

DURING the period 1917-1932 several books, a series of articles, and many Letters to the Editor of *QJS* gave serious attention to exploring the nature of argument as it is characteristically employed in rhetorical proofs.[1] Since that time, however, students of public address have shown comparatively little interest in the subject, leaving to philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists the principal contributions which have more recently been made toward an improved understanding of argument.[2]

Among the contributions offered by "outsiders" to our field, one in particular deserves more attention than it has so far received from rhetoricians. We refer to some of the formulations of the English logician Stephen Toulmin in his *The Uses of Argument*, published in 1958.[3]

Toulmin's analysis and terminology are important to the rhetorician for two different but related reasons. First, they provide an appropriate structural model by means of which rhetorical arguments may be laid out for analysis and criticism; and, second, they suggest a system for classifying artistic proofs which employs argument as a central and unifying construct. Let us consider these propositions in order.

1.

As described by Toulmin, an argument is *movement* from accepted *data*, through a *warrant*, to a *claim*.

Data (D) answer the question, "What have you got to go on?" Thus *data* correspond to materials of fact or opinion which in our textbooks are commonly called *evidence*. Data may report historical or contemporary events, take the form of a statistical compilation or of citations from authority, or they may consist of one or more general declarative sentences established by a prior proof of an artistic nature. Without data clearly present or strongly implied, an argument has no informative or substantive component, no factual point of departure.

Claim (C) is the term Toulmin applies to what we normally speak of as a *conclusion*. It is the explicit appeal produced by the argument, and is always of a potentially controversial

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[1] E.g., such books as James M. O'Neill, Craven Laycock, and Robert L. Scales, *Argumentation and Debate* (New York, 1917); William T. Foster, *Argumentation and Debating* (Boston, 1917); and A. Craig Baird, *Public Discussion and Debate* (Boston, 1928); such articles as Mary Yost, "Argument from the Point of View of Sociology," *QJS*, III (1917), 109-24; Charles H. Woolbert, "The Place of Logic in a System of Persuasion," *QJS*, IV, (1918), 19-39; Gladys Murphy Graham, "Logic and Argumentation," *QJS*, X (1924), 350-363; William E. Utterback, "Aristotle's Contribution to the Psychology of Argument," *QJS*, XI (1925), 218-225; Herbert A. Wichelns, "Analysis and Synthesis in Argumentation," *QJS*, XI (1925), 266-272; and Edward Z. Rowell, "Prolegomena to Argumentation," *QJS*, XVIII (1932), 1-13, 224-248, 381-405, 585-606; such Letters to the Editor as those by Utterback, XI (1925), 175-177; Wichelns, XI (1925), 286-288; Ralph C. Ringwalt, XII (1926), 66-68; and Graham, XII (1925), 196-197.

[2] See, for example, Mortimer Adler, *Dialectic* (New York, 1927); Paul Edwards, *The Logic of Moral Discourse* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955); Carl I. Hovland, Irving L. Janis, and Harold W. Kelley, *Communication and Persuasion* (New Haven, Conn., 1953); Charles Perelman, *Traité de l'argumentation*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958), and *La nouvelle rhétorique* (Paris, 1952); and John Cohen, "Subjective Probability," *Scientific American*, MCMVII (1957), 128-38.

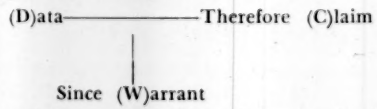
[3] (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). See especially the third of the five essays in the book. *Cf.* J. C. Cooley, "On Mr. Toulmin's Revolution in Logic," *The Journal of Philosophy*, LVI (1959), 297-319.

nature. A claim may stand as the final proposition in an argument, or it may be an intermediate statement which serves as data for a subsequent inference.

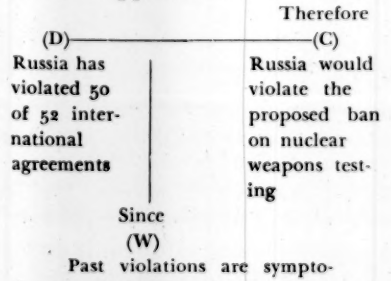
Data and claim taken together represent the specific contention advanced by an argument, and therefore constitute what may be regarded as its *main proof line*. The usual order is *data* first, and then *claim*. In this sequence the *claim* contains or implies "therefore." When the order is reversed, the *claim* contains or implies "because."

Warrant (W) is the operational name Toulmin gives to that part of an argument which authorizes the mental "leap" involved in advancing from data to claim. As distinguished from data which answer the question "What have you got to go on," the warrant answers the question "How do you get there." Its function is to *carry* the accepted data to the doubted or disbelieved proposition which constitutes the claim, thereby certifying this claim as true or acceptable.

The relations existing among these three basic components of an argument, Toulmin suggests, may be represented diagrammatically:



Here is an application of the method:



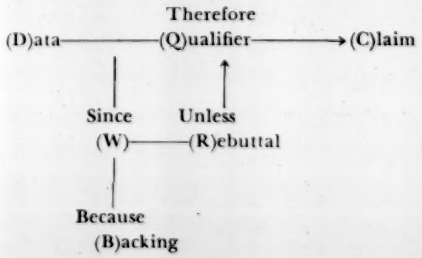
In addition to the three indispensable elements of *data, claim,* and *warrant,* Toulmin recognizes a second triad of components, any or all of which may, but need not necessarily, be present in an argument. These he calls (1) *backing,* (2) *rebuttal,* and (3) *qualifier.*

Backing (B) consists of credentials designed to certify the assumption expressed in the warrant. Such credentials may consist of a single item, or of an entire argument in itself complete with data and claim. Backing must be introduced when readers or listeners are not willing to accept a warrant at its face value.

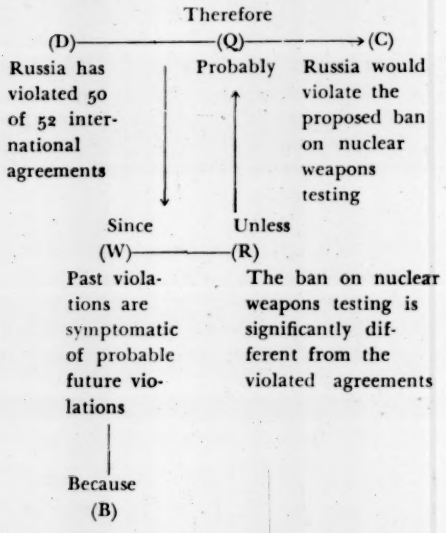
The rebuttal (R) performs the function of a safety valve or escape hatch, and is, as a rule, appended to the claim statement. It recognizes certain conditions under which the claim will not hold good or will hold good only in a qualified and restricted way. By limiting the area to which the claim may legitimately be applied, the rebuttal anticipates certain objections which might otherwise be advanced against the argument.

The function of the qualifier (Q) is to register the degree of force which the maker believes his claim to possess. The qualification may be expressed by a quantifying term such as "possibly," "probably," "to the five per cent level of confidence," etc., or it may make specific reference to an anticipated refutation. When the author of a claim regards it as incontrovertible no qualifier is appended.

These additional elements may be superimposed on the first diagram:



We may illustrate the model as follows:



Other nations which had such a record of violations continued such action/Expert X states that nations which have been chronic violators nearly always continued such acts/etc.

2.

With Toulmin's structural model now set forth, let us inquire into its suitability as a means of describing and testing arguments. Let us compare Toulmin's method with the analysis offered in traditional logic, the logic commonly used as a basic theory of argumentation in current textbooks. We conceive of arguments in the customary fashion as (1) deriving from probable causes and signs, (2) proceeding more often by relational than implicative principles, (3) emphasizing material as well as formal validity, (4) employing premises which are often contestable, and (5) eventuating in claims which are by nature contingent and variable.

The superiority of the Toulmin model in describing and testing arguments may be claimed for seven reasons:

1. Whereas traditional logic is characteristically concerned with *warrant-using* arguments (i. e., arguments in which the validity of the assumption underlying the inference "leap" is uncontested), Toulmin's model specifically provides for *warrant-establishing* arguments (i. e., arguments in which the validity of the assumption underlying the inference must be established—through backing—as part of the proof pattern itself).[4]

2. Whereas traditional logic, based as it is upon the general principle of implication, always treats proof more or less as a matter of classification or compartmentalization, Toulmin's analysis stresses the inferential and relational nature of argument, providing a context within which all factors—both formal and material—bearing upon a disputed claim may be organized into a series of discrete steps.

3. Whereas in traditional logic arguments are specifically designed to produce universal propositions, Toulmin's second triad of backing, rebuttal, and qualifier provide, within the framework of his basic structural model, for the establishment of claims which are no more than probable. The model directs attention to the ways in which each of these additional elements may operate to limit or condition a claim.

4. Whereas traditional logic, with its governing principle of implication, necessarily results in an essentially static conception of argument, Toulmin by emphasizing *movement* from data, through warrant, to claim produces a conception of argument as dynamic. From his structural model we derive a picture of arguments "working" to establish and certify claims, and as a result of his functional terminology we are able to understand the role each part of an argument plays in this process.

5. Whereas the modes based on the

[4] In traditional logic only the epicheirema provides comparable backing for premises.

traditional analysis—enthymeme, example, and the like—often suppress a step in proof, Toulmin's model lays an argument out in such a way that each step may be examined critically.

6. Whereas in the traditional analysis the division of arguments into premises and conclusions (as in the syllogism, for example) often tends to obscure deficiencies in proof, Toulmin's model assigns each part of an argument a specific geographical or spatial position in relation to the others, thus rendering it more likely that weak points will be detected.

7. Whereas traditional logic is imperfectly equipped to deal with the problem of material validity, Toulmin makes such validity an integral part of his system, indicating clearly the role which factual elements play in producing acceptable claims.

In short, without denying that Toulmin's formulations are open to serious criticism at several points[5]—and allowing for any peculiarities in our interpretations of the character of traditional logic—one conclusion emerges. Toulmin has provided a structural model which promises to be of greater use in laying out rhetorical arguments for dissection and testing than the methods of traditional logic. For although most teachers and writers in the field of argumentation have discussed the syllogism in general terms, they have made no serious attempt to explore the complexities of the moods and figures of the syllogism, nor have they been very successful in applying the terms and principles of traditional logic to the arguments of real controversies. Toulmin's model provides a practical replacement.

[5] It may be charged that his structural model is merely "a syllogism lying on its side," that it makes little or no provision to insure the formal validity of claims, etc.

3.

Our second proposition is that Toulmin's structural model and the vocabulary he has developed to describe it are suggestive of a system for classifying artistic proofs, using argument (defined as *movement* from data, through warrant, to claim) as a unifying construct.[6]

In extending Toulmin's analysis to develop a simplified classification of arguments, we may begin by restating in Toulmin's terms the traditional difference between *inartistic* and *artistic* proof. Thus, conceiving of an argument as a movement by means of which accepted data are carried through a certifying warrant to a controversial claim, we may say that in some cases the data themselves are conclusive. They approach the claim without aid from a warrant—are tantamount to the claim in the sense that to accept them is automatically to endorse the claim they are designed to support. In such cases the proof may be regarded as *inartistic*. In another class of arguments, however, the situation is quite different. Here the data are not immediately conclusive, so that the role of the warrant in carrying them to the claim becomes of crucial importance. In this sort of argument the proof is directly dependent upon

[6] Our suggestion as to the structural unity of artistic proofs is by no means novel. The ancients regularly spoke of *pathetic* and *ethical* enthymemes, and envisioned the *topoi* as applicable beyond the *pistis*. (See in this connection James H. McBurney, "The Place of the Enthymeme in Rhetorical Theory," *SM*, III [1936], 63.) At the same time, however, it must be recognized that especially since the advent of the faculty psychology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rhetorical thought has been profoundly and persistently influenced by the doctrine of a dichotomy between pathetic and logical appeals. (For significant efforts to combat this doctrine see Charles H. Woolbert, "Conviction and Persuasion: Some Considerations of Theory," *QJS*, III [1917], 249-264; Mary Yost, "Argument from the Point of View of Sociology," *QJS*, III [1917], 109-124; and W. Norwood Brigance, "Can We Redefine the James-Winans Theory of Persuasion?" *QJS*, XXI [1935], 19-26.)

the inventive powers of the arguer and may be regarded as *artistic.*

If, then, the warrant is the crucial element in an artistic proof, and if its function is to carry the data to the claim, we may classify artistic arguments by recognizing the possible routes which the warrant may travel in performing its function.

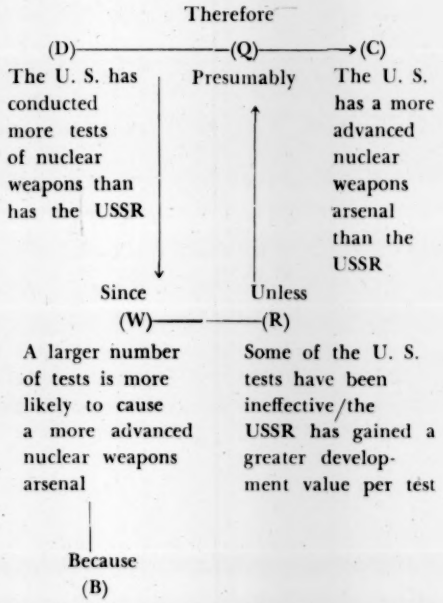
So far as rhetorical proofs are concerned, as men have for centuries recognized, these routes are three in number: (1) an arguer may carry data to claim by means of an assumption concerning the relationship existing among phenomena in the external world; (2) by means of an assumption concerning the quality of the source from which the data are derived; and (3) by means of an assumption concerning the inner drives, values, or aspirations which impel the behavior of those persons to whom the argument is addressed.

Arguments of the first sort (traditionally called *logical)* may be called *substantive;* those of the second sort (traditionally called *ethical*) may be described as *authoritative;* and those of the third sort (traditionally called *pathetic*) as *motivational.*

Substantive Arguments

The warrant of a substantive argument reflects an assumption concerning the way in which things are related in the world about us. Although other orderings are possible, one commonly recognized, and the one used here, is six-fold. Phenomena may be related as cause to effect (or as effect to cause), as attribute to substance, as some to more, as intrinsically similar, as bearing common relations, or as more to some. Upon the first of these relationships is based what is commonly called argument from *cause;* on the second, argument from *sign;* on the third, argument from *generalization;* on the fourth, argument from *parallel case;* on the fifth, argument from *analogy;* and on the sixth, argument from *classification.*

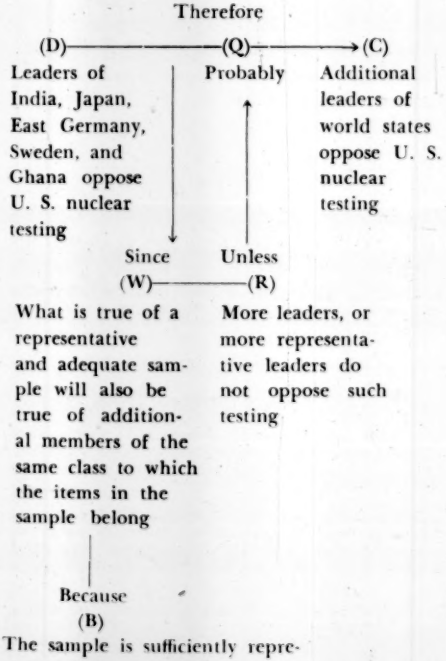
Cause. In argument from cause the data consist of one or more accepted facts about a person, object, event, or condition. The warrant attributes to these facts a creative or generative power and specifies the nature of the effect they will produce. The claim relates these results to the person, object, event, or condition named in the data. Here is an illustration, from cause to effect:


Therefore
(D)
(Q)
(C)
The U. S. has conducted more tests of nuclear weapons than has the USSR
Presumably
The U. S. has a more advanced nuclear weapons arsenal than the USSR
Since
Unless
(W)
(R)
A larger number of tests is more likely to cause a more advanced nuclear weapons arsenal
Some of the U. S. tests have been ineffective/the USSR has gained a greater development value per test
Because
(B)
Our experience with parallel testing programs indicates this/Expert X testifies that many tests are more likely than fewer tests to create advanced nuclear weapons arsenals

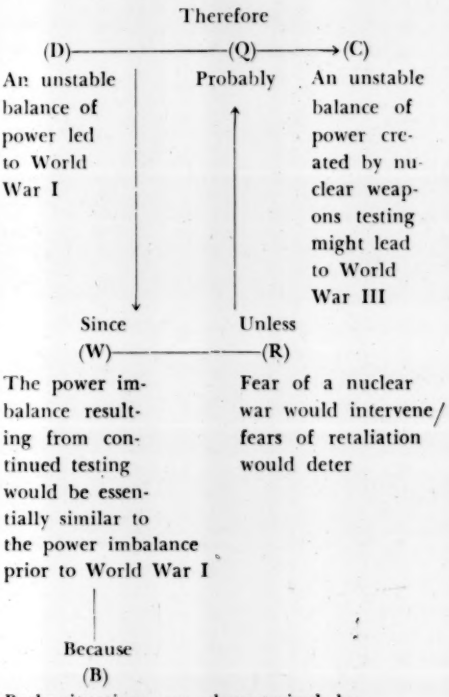
When the reasoning process is reversed and the argument is from effect to cause, the data again consist of one or more facts about a person, object, event, or condition; the warrant asserts that a particular causal force is sufficient to have accounted for these facts; and the claim relates this cause to the person, object, event, or condition named in the data.

Sign. In argument from sign the data consist of clues or symptoms. The warrant interprets the meaning or significance of these symptoms. The claim affirms that some person, object, event, or condition possesses the attributes of which the clues have been declared symptomatic. Our first example concerning Russia's violation of international agreements illustrates the argument from sign.

Generalization. In argument from generalization the data consist of information about a number of persons, objects, events, or conditions, taken as constituting a representative and adequate sample of a given class of phenomena. The warrant assumes that what is true of the items constituting the sample will also be true of additional members of the class not represented in the sample. The claim makes explicit the assumption embodied in the warrant. The form can be diagrammed so:


Therefore
(D)
(Q)
(C)
Leaders of India, Japan, East Germany, Sweden, and Ghana oppose U. S. nuclear testing
Probably
Additional leaders of world states oppose U. S. nuclear testing
Since
(W)
Unless
(R)
What is true of a representative and adequate sample will also be true of additional members of the same class to which the items in the sample belong
More leaders, or more representative leaders do not oppose such testing
Because
(B)
The sample is sufficiently representative/large enough/etc.

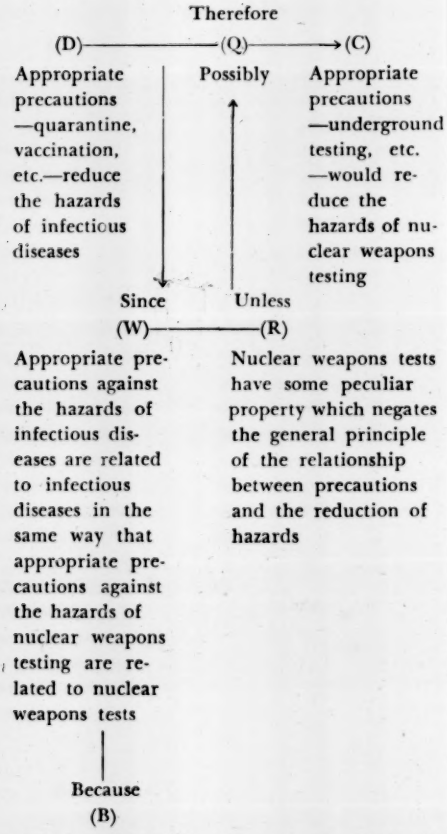
Parallel Case. In argument from parallel case the data consist of one or more statements about a single object, event, or condition. The warrant asserts that the instance reported in the data bears an essential similarity to a second instance in the same category. The claim affirms about the new instance what has already been accepted concerning the first. Here is an illustration:


Therefore
(D)
(Q)
(C)
An unstable balance of power led to World War I
Probably
An unstable balance of power created by nuclear weapons testing might lead to World War III
Since
(W)
Unless
(R)
The power imbalance resulting from continued testing would be essentially similar to the power imbalance prior to World War I
Fear of a nuclear war would intervene/fears of retaliation would deter
Because
(B)
Both situations are characterized by an arms race, dynamic power blocs, etc.

In argument from parallel cases a rebuttal will be required in either of two situations: (1) if another parallel case bears a stronger similarity to the case under consideration; or (2) if in spite of some essential similarities an essential dissimilarity negates or reduces the force of the warrant. The example illustrates the second of these possibilities.

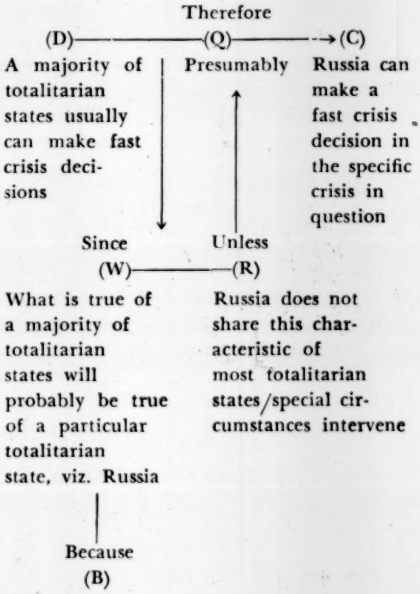
Analogy. In argument from analogy the data report that a relationship of a

certain nature exists between two items. The warrant assumes that a similar relationship exists between a second pair of items. The claim makes explicit the relationship assumed in the warrant. Whereas the argument from parallel case assumes a resemblance between two *cases,* the analogy assumes only a similarity of *relationship.* Analogy may be illustrated so:


Therefore
(D)
(Q)
(C)
Appropriate precautions —quarantine, vaccination, etc.—reduce the hazards of infectious diseases
Possibly
Appropriate precautions —underground testing, etc. —would reduce the hazards of nuclear weapons testing
Since
Unless
(W)
(R)
Appropriate precautions against the hazards of infectious diseases are related to infectious diseases in the same way that appropriate precautions against the hazards of nuclear weapons testing are related to nuclear weapons tests
Nuclear weapons tests have some peculiar property which negates the general principle of the relationship between precautions and the reduction of hazards
Because
(B)
Both participate in the general relationship between precautions and the reduction of hazards

In most cases the analogical relation expressed in an argument from analogy will require a strongly qualifying "possibly."

Classification. In argument from classification the statement of the data is a generalized conclusion about known members of a class of persons, objects, events, or conditions. The warrant assumes that what is true of the items reported in the data will also be true of a hitherto unexamined item which is known (or thought) to fall within the class there described. The claim then transfers the general statement which has been made in the data to the particular item under consideration. As illustrated, the form would appear:


Therefore
(D)
(Q)
(C)
A majority of totalitarian states usually can make fast crisis decisions
Presumably
Russia can make a fast crisis decision in the specific crisis in question
Since
Unless
(W)
(R)
What is true of a majority of totalitarian states will probably be true of a particular totalitarian state, viz. Russia
Russia does not share this characteristic of most totalitarian states/special circumstances intervene
Because
(B)
The class "totalitarian states" is reasonably homogeneous, stable, etc./Russia generally shares the attributes of the totalitarian states class

Two kinds of reservations may be applicable in an argument from classification: (1) a class member may not share the particular attribute cited in the data, although it does share enough other attributes to deserve delineation as a member of the class; and (2) special circumstances may prevent a specific class member from sharing at some particular time or place the attributes general to the class.

Authoritative Arguments

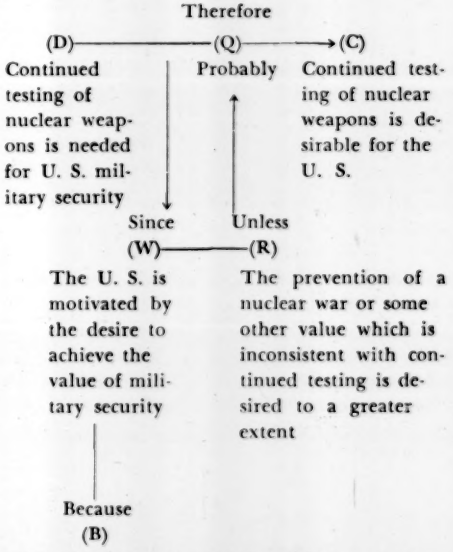
In authoritative arguments the data consist of one or more factual reports or statements of opinion. The warrant affirms the reliability of the source from which these are derived. The claim reiterates the statement which appeared in the data, as now certified by the warrant. An illustration follows:

Therefore
(D)
(Q)
(C)
Klaus Knorr states, "Soviet leaders calculate that a minor build-up of nuclear power in the NATO countries of Western Europe . . . will add only marginally [to the danger of American striking power]."
Probably
Soviet leaders calculate that a minor build-up of nuclear power in the NATO countries of Western Europe will add only marginally to American striking power
Since
Unless
(W)
(R)
What Knorr says about the power of nuclear weapons is reliable
Other authorities more qualified than Knorr say otherwise/special circumstances negate or reduce Knorr's usual reliability as a witness
Because
(B)
Knorr is a professor at Princeton's Center of International Studies/is unbiased/has made reliable statements on similar matters in the past/etc.

The structure and function of an authoritative argument remains basically the same when the source of the data is the speaker or writer himself. The data is carried to claim status by the same sort of assumption embodied in the warrant. We may infer a claim from what Knorr says about nuclear weapons whether he is himself the speaker, or whether another speaker is quoting what Knorr has said. Thus the *ethos* of a speaker may be studied by means of the Toulmin structure under the heading of authoritative argument.

Motivational Arguments

In motivational arguments the data consist of one or more statements which may have been established as claims in a previous argument or series of arguments. The warrant provides a motive for accepting the claim by associating it with some inner drive, value, desire, emotion, or aspiration, or with a combination of such forces. The claim as so warranted is that the person, object, event, or condition referred to in the data should be accepted as valuable or rejected as worthless, or that the policy there described should or should not be adopted, or the action there named should or should not be performed. Illustrated the form would appear:


Therefore
(D)
(Q)
(C)
Continued testing of nuclear weapons is needed for U. S. military security
Probably
Continued testing of nuclear weapons is desirable for the U. S.
Since
Unless
(W)
(R)
The U. S. is motivated by the desire to achieve the value of military security
The prevention of a nuclear war or some other value which is inconsistent with continued testing is desired to a greater extent
Because
(B)
Military security is related to self-preservation, the maintenance of our high standard of living, patriotism, the preservation of democracy, etc.

4.

We have exhibited the structural unity of the three modes of artistic proof by showing how they may be reduced to a single invariant pattern using argument as a unifying construct. Let us as a final step explore this unity further by inquiring how artistic proofs, so reduced, may conveniently be correlated with the various types of disputable questions and the claims appropriate to each.

Let us begin by recognizing the four categories into which disputable questions have customarily been classified: (1) Whether something is? (2) What it is? (3) Of what worth it is? (4) What course of action should be pursued? The first of these queries gives rise to a question of *fact,* and is to be answered by what can be called a *designative claim*; the second, to a question of *definition,* to be answered by a *definitive claim*; the third, to a question of *value,* to be answered by an *evaluative claim*; and the fourth, to a question of *policy,* to be answered by an *advocative claim.*

Supposing, then, that an arguer is confronted with a question of fact, calling for a designative claim; or a question of policy, calling for an advocative claim, etc., what types of argument would be available to him as means of substantiating his claim statement? Upon the basis of the formulations developed in earlier sections of this paper, it is possible to supply rather precise answers.

Designative Claims. A designative claim, appropriate to answering a question of fact, will be found supportable by any of the six forms of substantive argument, or by authoritative argument, but not by motivational argument. That is, whether something exists or is so may be determined: (1) by isolating its cause or its effect (argument from cause); (2) by reasoning from the presence of symptoms to the claim that a substance exists or is so (argument from sign); (3) by inferring that because some members of a given class exist or are so, more members of the same class also exist or are so (argument from generalization); (4) by inferring because one item exists or is so, that a closely similar item exists or is so (argument from parallel case); (5) by reasoning that D exists or is so because it stands in the same relation to C that B does to A, when C, B, and A are known to exist or to be so (argument from analogy); and (6) by concluding that an unexamined item known or thought to fall within a given class exists or is so because all known members of the class exist or are so (argument from classification). Moreover, we may argue that something exists or is so because a reputable authority declares this to be the case. Motivational argument, on the other hand, may not be critically employed in designative claims, because values, desires, and feelings are irrelevant where questions of fact are concerned.

Definitive Claims. The possibilities for establishing definitive claims are more limited. Only two of the forms of substantive argument and authoritative argument are applicable. We may support a claim as to what something is: (1) by comparing it with a closely similar phenomenon (argument from parallel case); or (2) by reasoning that because it stands in the same relation to C as B does to A it will be analogous to C, where the nature of C, B, and A are known (argument from analogy). In addition, we may support a definition or interpretation by citing an acceptable authority. Among the substantive arguments, cause, sign, generalization, and classification are inapplicable; and once again motivational argument is irrele-

vant since emotions, wishes, and values cannot legitimately determine the nature of phenomena.

Evaluative Claims. Evaluative claims may be supported by generalization, parallel case, analogy, and classification, and by authoritative and motivational arguments. By generalization a class of phenomena may be declared valuable or worthless on the ground that a typical and adequate sample of the members of that class is so. By classification, in contrast, we infer from the worth of known members of a class the probable worth of some previously unexamined item known or thought to belong to that class. By parallel case, we infer goodness or badness from the quality of an item closely similar. By analogy, however, we infer value on the basis of a ratio of resemblances rather than a direct parallel. In authoritative argument our qualitative judgment is authorized by a recognized expert. In motivational argument, however, an item is assigned a value in accordance with its usefulness in satisfying human drives, needs, and aspirations. Arguments from cause and sign, on the other hand, are inapplicable.

Advocative Claims. Advocative claims may legitimately be established in only four ways. We may argue that some policy should be adopted or some action undertaken because a closely similar policy or action has brought desirable results in the past (argument from parallel case). We may support a proposed policy or action because it bears the same relation to C that B does to A, where B is known to have brought desirable results (argument from analogy). Or, of course, we may support our claim by testimony (authoritative argument), or by associating it with men's wishes, values, and aspirations (motivational argument).

This analysis concerning the types of arguments applicable to various sorts of claims may be summarized in tabular form:

	Designative	Definitive	Evaluative	Advocative
Substantive				
A. Cause	x			
B. Sign	x			
C. Generalization	x		x	
D. Parallel Case	x	x	x	x
E. Analogy	x	x	x	x
F. Classification	x		x	
Authoritative	x	x	x	x
Motivational			x	x

The world of argument is vast, one seemingly without end. Arguments arise in one realm, are resolved, and appear and reappear in others; and new arguments appear. If one assumes some rationality among men, a system of logical treatment of argument is imperative. The traditional logical system of syllogisms, of enthymemes, of middles distributed and undistributed, may have had its attraction in medieval times. The inadequacies of such a logic, however, have been described by experts; for example, see J. S. Mill on the syllogism and *petitio principii*.[7] The modern search has been for a method which would have some application in the dynamics of contemporary affairs.

Toulmin has supplied us with a contemporary methodology, which in many respects makes the traditional unnecessary. The basic theory has herein been amplified, some extensions have been made, and illustrations of workability have been supplied. All this is not meant to be the end, but rather the beginning of an inquiry into a new, contemporary, dynamic, and usable logic for argument.

[7] *A System of Logic*, I, Chap. 3, Sec. 2.

INVECTIVE IN FRONTIER MISSOURI

Frances Lea McCurdy

WHEN Shakespeare's Richard II learned that members of his court had plotted against him, he cried:

O Villains, vipers, dam'nd without redemption!
Dogs, easily won to fawn on any man!
Snakes, in my heart-blood warm'd that sting my heart!
Three Judases, each one thrice worse than Judas![1]

As vivid as is the master of English drama in vituperation, he had his match in the frontiersman who, after he had had a thing or two to say about villains, dogs, and Judases, tossed in some remarks about jackasses, savages, and skunks.

Edward Everett Dale has suggested that the language of the frontier is much the same whether it be spoken east or west of the Piedmont.[2] Certainly, Missouri of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can justly claim to have been the American frontier of that day. For sixty years after Laclede sent his stepson to build St. Louis, the territory that is now Missouri was the western limit of white settlement; and for sixteen years after the compromise over her admission, Missouri was the only state west of the Mississippi. From Missouri, the Santa Fe trail wound toward the southwest and the Oregon trail led to the Pacific. If the assumption of similarity of language on all frontiers is correct, the talk of early Missourians is frontier speech.

Violence was as familiar on the Missouri frontier as the cornbread and fat pork that formed the settler's staple diet. The homesteader was subjected to attack by roving bands of Indians; the traveler faced danger from gangs of thieves or packs of wild animals; poor food, inadequate shelter, and disease cheapened the lives of inhabitants. Men settled their quarrels by fists or duelling pistols; and fist fights could wreak greater havoc than pistol balls in an area where kicking, gouging, and biting were accepted rules of welfare.

In speech as violent as his way of life the frontiersman denounced his opponents. The language did more than communicate the speaker's attitude; the symbols and images used in his almost poetic execration indicated his perceptual world and disclosed the objects or traits that he most feared and despised.

Despite his well-deserved reputation for godlessness, the frontiersman believed in a devil as real as an Indian. The terrors of the place of eternal punishment prepared by this prince of evil for his followers inspired the images of hell and the devil invoked by speakers to castigate opponents. Typical was the tirade of an angry Democrat who shouted that the union of anti-Benton members of his party with Whigs was a "marriage celebrated in hell"—the ceremony performed by the devil whose cloven foot showed "beautifully black under his

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[1] *Richard II*, Act III, sc. 1.

[2] Edward Everett Dale, "The Speech of the Frontier," *QJS*, XXVII (1941), pp. 352-363.

pontifical robe."[3] Even the preachers, generally good men sincerely interested in the salvation of sinners, unhesitatingly consigned believers in a different theology to hell, as did the minister of another religious persuasion who told hearers, "Universalists are *imps of the Devil,* and will most assuredly *go to hell,* as sure as it is that you will leave this house—in fact *more so;* as you may not leave it, but they will most assuredly *go to hell* . . . and *will be eternally damned.*"[4]

The traitor was an object of detestation on the frontier. In time of danger a man's life depended on the loyalty of companions, and for the double-dealer eternal damnation was deemed scarcely sufficient. To be termed a traitor, a man need not have engaged in pumpkin shell activities; transfer of allegiance to another party or opposition to a favored measure could bring charges that he was a "Judas," that he had betrayed his friends for thirty pieces of silver, that he was an unworthy sentinel, a perjuror, a "tory, dam liar, and coward" (these three were used together so frequently that speakers apparently assumed that if one characteristic applied, the others automatically followed), and a "tool of George IV."

In the half-century following the Revolution, George IV was a synonym for tyranny. Despotism was particularly loathsome to men who had fled the restraints of government and society, and the association of a disliked man or measure with oppression was highly effective on the frontier. The charge of tyranny and enslavement was repeated by Fourth of July orators in such phrases as thrilled listeners at Richmond, Missouri, in 1830, when patriots were praised for "having rent the chains of British oppression" and freed posterity from the "shackles of Monsters who seek to enslave mankind."[5]

But the British were not alone in being accused of despotic rule; any government was irksome to men who had chosen privation and hardship in order to be free from unwanted authority. Accusations of despotism were leveled by citizens of St. Louis against a territorial judge designated by United States officials in a notice posted on the door of the Catholic church calling for revolt in the words:

> People of Louisiana are you slaves how long will you suffer the vile & infamous John Lucas to keep you in the chains of oppression voilence [*sic*] and injustice [*?*] is not 4 years of Slavery sufficient to rouse your indignation againest [*sic*] that little Robispiere [*sic*] & his adherents who never ceased since their arrival here to exert all their power to ruin your peace & property & to mislead the govern't by their false and scandalous reports respecting your country. . . .
>
> the power of Govern't has raised this enemy of your country above you & to a station he does not Merit—& your power with a little hemp may raise him still higher & to a Station to which he is really entitled.[6]

The cry of despotism was also raised against the press when a lawyer sought to defend a client on trial for his life as a result of the merciless caning of an editor who had published an offensive article. Despite clear evidence that the defendant had beaten the newspaperman to death, the attorney won a favorable verdict from the jury of frontiersmen with the plea:

> You are now called upon to decide whether the people of this country are to be exposed to the

[3] Letter of Thomas Ansell to Abiel Leonard, August 19, 1850, Leonard MSS. Library of The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

[4] Fayette *Boon's Lick Times,* January 27, 1844, p. 2.

[5] Fayette *Western Monitor,* July 28, 1830, p. 2.

[6] *The Territorial Papers of the United States, The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814,* ed., Clarence Edwin Carter (Washington, D. C., 1949), XIV, 335. Further errors of spelling and punctuation found in documents are copied without the insertion of *sic.*

arbitrary tyranny of the press—the defenseless victims of its relentless cruelty; whether it is to be cherished and encouraged in its licentiousness, by denying to its victims all adequate redress, and punishing them as felons if they attempt to redress themselves and by accident or misfortune exceed the just measure of retribution.[7]

In more pungent phrases a candidate for office decried the attempt to recharter the national bank as a move that would create a great, monied aristocracy to "lord and rule it over the people" and warned that if a charter should be granted, the children of the farmers and mechanics in his audience would be "born with saddles on their backs, to be rode through life by a booted and spurred aristocracy."[8]

The pioneer was contemptuous of a subservient man and borrowed an image from his daily life to express his scorn. Before horses and oxen could be directed in pulling a wagon or plough, a yoke or collar had to be placed over their shoulders. Consequently a "collar man" indicated a fellow who submitted to another's direction. In other realistic figures, speakers ridiculed a timid opponent by taunts that he "tucked his tail," "wanted to wear his coat the way the wind blew," or was "only a little fellow barely able to kick up a sapling."

A strong Jacksonian philosophy permeated the frontier. In attempts to build their own ethical proof, speakers identified themselves with "the people," the "bone and sinew of the country," and attacked opponents as "city men" or "aristocrats." A legislator fighting threatened repeal of the bounty on wolf scalps told his colleagues in the house that the bill had been proposed by "nice silk stocking, kid-gloves, fine-linen collars, mahogany coffin, silver plate, brass tack'd St Louis fellows, who think it a great degredation to be a hunter or wolf catcher, and who think that nice hands and nice feet and small ears, are the only qualifications for a gentleman or a representative."[9] As for himself, the speaker insisted, he was proud of his broad shoulders, rough hands, and "big mud slachers."[10]

Elegance of dress was the symbol of aristocracy, and the buckskin-shirted farmer resented sartorial distinction. A hill preacher denounced educated clergymen with the explanation, "The trouble is, we've got too many of these high-hat high-priced preachers goin' around all shiny an' slicked up, wearin' a fried shirt with a white collar standin' so high their nose sticks through the buttonhole."[11] On the frontier "ruffled-shirt," "silk-glove," and "gold-headed cane" used as adjectives were damning to the unlucky individual to whom they were applied.

The meanest things that one man could say about another were that he had mistreated his wife or fathered illegitimate children. Notwithstanding his practice of taking a temporary Indian "wife" when he made his fur trading expeditions into the wilderness, the pioneer was sentimental about home and mother. Orators digressed from the discussion of issues to praise motherhood in such words as "and oh! who can comprehend the mystery of a mother's love; it inbues the very essence of her life; tinges her heart, her soul, her deeds, her words, clothes its objects with all radiance, and then worships the glory

[7] W. V. N. Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri* &c (St. Louis, 1878), p. 146.

[8] Report of the speech of R. W. Wells against the Bank, *St. Louis Beacon*, October 20, 1831, pp. 2-3.

[9] Report of the speech of Joseph Buford in "Legislative Proceedings," Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, January 16, 1845, p. 3.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Lennie Leonard Broadfoot, *Pioneers of the Ozarks* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1944), p. 58.

it has made."[12] With such an attitude prevailing, the denunciation of an antagonist in terms of prostitution and illegitimacy brought ready response. The suggestion that white and black blood had been mingled was especially severe condemnation. In his imprecations against President Jackson's veto of the bank charter, David Barton, one of the first Senators from Missouri, compared the President's message to a "calico child with a patch of the European white, the deep red of the Sioux, the jet black of the African."[13] An early critic attacked the *St. Louis Enquirer* and its editor, Duff Green, with the image of the paper as nurse "bearing in its *sable* arms, the rickety offspring of his brain, covered with sores and languishing under the weakness incident to premature birth . . . it turns out to be the child of *nobody* or of Mr. Green which is the same thing."[14]

Disapproval of violation of the moral code was the basis for charging that an adversary was a "renegade of connubial felicity," that a man had been "cowhided by a Negro in Kentucky," that an antagonist was "guilty of an offense that proper respect for an intelligent community prevents naming," and that a rival had "attempted an act of violence on an unnamed person and come near being subjected to a very critical operation." Political opponents accused Territorial Governor William Clark of having an Indian wife and children and appealed to Thomas Hart Benton to admit that a "living and squalling witness" proved his friendship for the Negro.

Benton was a master of invective. In his fiery campaign for re-election to the Senate in 1849, he toured Missouri, boldly facing his enemies in their own environs and hurling defiance at them. A contemporary said that he was never so attractive as when indulging in sarcasm and vituperation. As he raised, pointed, and shook his forefinger, clenched his fist, and brought it down with emphasis, spitting out his words in tones "like the murderous report of a rifle," audiences thrilled to the vigor of his attack.[15] They laughed at his characterization of three opponents as being demure as three prostitutes at a christening and understood his utter contempt for the legislative resolutions offered to embarrass him when he spoke of them as the offspring of Calhoun, brought into the world by Judge Napton as granny, and nursed by Claiborne Jackson.[16] In his counterthrusts at James Birch, who was busily engaged in propagating calumnies against him, Benton told Missourians that when Mrs. Birch protested against her husband's illicit association with a "negro wench," he had "whipped her" so severely that he had knocked out two of her teeth. These were not the only charges Benton made, but Birch ignored other attacks upon his character and based his suit for damages on the Senator's remarks about his marital difficulties. Birch and his lawyers were well aware of the sentiment of frontiersmen on this subject; and swayed by the plea that Birch's progeny for years to come would be injured by the allegation, the jury

[12] J. W. Morrow, "Eulogy of Andrew Jackson," Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, July 31, 1845, p. 1.

[13] Columbia *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, August 7, 1830, p. 1.

[14] St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, May 24, 1824, p. 2.

[15] Charles P. Johnson, "Personal Recollections of Some of Missouri's Eminent Statesmen and Lawyers," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Its Second Annual Meeting Held January 22, 1903* (Palmyra, Missouri, 1903), pp. 54-60; "Daguerrotypes," Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, December 22, 1849, p. 2.

[16] Judge Napton held office as judge of the Supreme Court in Missouri. Claiborne Jackson, who became governor of the state in 1860, fled from Missouri when he failed to capture control of state government for the Confederacy.

awarded damages of five thousand dollars.[17]

Fear inspired other comparisons used to defame adversaries. In lands at the very edge of civilization, threat of Indian attack led speakers to associate antagonists with "savage hell-hounds of the forest." They shouted that the bank would "scalp" the people, termed a man whose support they had lost "a renegade," and likened the subject of their vilification to a merciless barbarian who bathed his hands in the blood of his victims. Fear of losing property or food stored for the winter led the pioneers to improve upon Shakespeare's calumny of an enemy as a dog. They termed a greedy man "a dog in the meat house grasping for all and barking for more," and a treacherous one a "sheep-killing cur dog." "Miserable reptile," "skunk," and "snake" were other uncomplimentary appellations derived from fear or discomfort.

The frontiersman expressed contempt for "book larnin' " and "college educated fellows," but he respected native shrewdness. His jeremiad against a rival was likely to include references to jackasses and brainless boobies. He accused his enemies of stupidity and said of a man who differed with him on a subject that "he had barely enough brains to keep his skull from caving in."

Loathsome objects provided strong metaphors for vilification. "Rotten," "polluted," and "carrion" invoked vivid images among frontiersmen. Listeners made the association desired by the hard money man who spoke of advocates of paper money as "putrified softs so rotten that nothing could save them from hasty decomposition," and knew what the speaker meant who demeaned his rival as a "very dung fork used to ditch abuse upon the democracy."

The campaign oratory bristled with vituperation. Inventing new terms of scurrility, speakers accused rivals of swindling, graft, and licentiousness, and in campaigns conducted like bear hunts mounted the stump and voiced the vilest slanders. In an atmosphere of violence, speakers called for tar and feathers or threatened to hang opponents, and "illegitimate brat," "rascal," "villain," "puppy," "sneak," and "coward" became commonplace terms. Imaginative speakers coined new metaphors. In unmistakable scorn, an individual attacked through newspaper columns loftily observed, "The filty scurrulous scribbler . . . who signs himself *Cato* is certainly beneath all serious notice. . . . The garbage he has belched up, prove him but too clearly, to be a perfect bear."[18]

A really accomplished speaker could produce a stream of vivid and scathing images whose very sound was insulting. A Senator, charged with being "manufactured from rotten materials," answered, "If perchance some spider-legged, crane-necked, sheep-headed, wolf-hearted, dog-paid, editor of a newspaper, or swaggering, self-conceited, ignorant, sap-headed chief magistrate in leading strings; or some other great man in this State had been elected U. States' Senator, the materials would not have been considered so rotten."[19]

The invective of the pioneer was like the frontier itself—coarse, vigorous, and unrestrained. It had not been learned in schools of rhetoric; it grew out of frontier life and reflected the attitudes of the settlers.

[17] Banton G. Boone, "A Cause Celebre—Birch *vs.* Benton," *The History of the Bench and Bar of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1898), pp. 377-383.

[18] St. Louis *Missouri Gazette*, March 29, 1817, p. 1.

[19] Columbia *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, June 18, 1831, pp. 2-3.

THE *EPITOME TROPORUM AC SCHEMATUM*: THE GENESIS OF A RENAISSANCE RHETORICAL TEXT

Joseph X. Brennan

ALTHOUGH Joannes Susenbrotus is a familiar name to many students of rhetoric, it is not probable that the *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum*, his major contribution to the Renaissance classroom, evokes any large recognition. Yet during the century following its first appearance in 1541, this rhetorical treatise ran through at least two dozen editions, both on the continent and in England,[1] to become in its day perhaps the most widely used text exclusively on figures of speech. As T. W. Baldwin has amply established in his two-volume study, *Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, in the latter half of the 16th century the *Epitome* generally became the standard work from which English schoolboys, including very probably Shakespeare himself, learned their precepts for eloquence.[2] Among the educated, in fact, Susenbrotus was so well known—if not notorious—that in 1615 students at Cambridge performed before King James and Prince Charles a comedy entitled *Susenbrotus* about a ridiculous pedagogue, very rhetorically in love.[3] The name Susenbrotus had become, apparently, something of an academic by-word, a name for every young scholar to wince at and seriously reckon with. For his was the crabbed manual into which the tropes and schemes, those indispensable marks of eloquence, had been gathered from every available source and rigidly organized; his the craggy Latinity they had to traverse before attempting Parnassus.

It is not difficult, however, to understand why Susenbrotus and his *Epitome*, now fallen into such obscurity, were so widely recognized in their time. In an age still largely obsessed with the medieval rage for a consummate order, in problems theoretical as well as in matters practical, the *Epitome* of Susenbrotus was almost a model textbook, arranged on logical principles, defined with precision and minute detail, and abundantly illustrated. Neither a novel creation nor absolutely complete, it was

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[1] The publishing house of Christopher Froschauer, Zürich, issued the *Epitome* in two undated editions—one of them undoubtedly the first edition in 1541—and subsequently in 1556, 1560, 1562, 1563, 1565, 1568, 1570, 1572, 1577. Other editions by other publishers are the following: 1543, Cologne, "apud Gymnicum"; 1545, Basel, "apud Vuesthemerum"; 1547, Mainz, Reinhessen Schöffer; 1562, London and Lyons; 1566, Antwerp; 1570, London, H. Wykes; 1576, London; x1579, registered for printing in London; 1593, Cologne; x1593, registered for printing in London; 1608, 1621, 1635, London, ex typog. Soc. Statm. Details concerning these various editions and the sources of this information have been presented in my unpublished doctoral dissertation, *The Epitome Troporum ac Schematum of Joannes Susenbrotus; Text, Translation and Commentary* (University of Illinois, Dept. of English, 1953).

The Talon Ramist *Rhetoric* ran to some 145 editions, but was not entirely on tropes and schemes. See W. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 296.

[2] See particularly II, 138-175 (Urbana, 1944).

[3] Two manuscript copies of this work are extant, one in the Bodlian, the other in the Huntington Library. A curious fact about this play is that, though otherwise written in Latin, it contains a scene in which the principals compete for the heroine's hand in English of considerable allusiveness and double-entendre; it is obvious from the context, moreover, that it was supposed to be presented in this way on stage.

nevertheless both the culmination and a summation of innumerable efforts by previous rhetoricians to fix and define and codify the artful variations of language. In many respects, and in respect particularly to the ideals, the demands and methods of 16th century education, it was the definitive work of its kind.[4]

Since the *Epitome* evidently played an important role in Renaissance education, on the continent no less than in England, it should be of interest to examine more closely the unique synthesis it represented. This the present study proposes to do. But first it will be necessary to look briefly at the various treatises which the *Epitome* drew so freely upon and pedagogically superseded; for the genesis of this text intricately mirrors the long, confusing history of the figures of speech.

As in almost everything else, the Greeks were first in this domain too, the first to detect and define, and subsequently classify, a seemingly endless number of artistic devices for adorning communication in words. Hence it is that most of our terminology for the various figures of speech is derived directly from Greek, and virtually all of whatever is left, indirectly from Greek through Latin. For our present purpose, however, not the Greeks but the Latins are principally important, for it was chiefly from them that the Renaissance learned its rhetoric, and it is from them in very large part that the *Epitome* was ultimately derived.

The most famous of the Latin rhetoricians was naturally Cicero, yet in the codification of tropes and schemes he scarcely figured at all. Although he wrote of the ornaments of language with much intelligence in several of his rhetorical treatises, in the *Orator* and *De Oratore* particularly, his discussion of the figures was not systematic, and never elementary. He did not define and classify, and he never embraced more than one small area of a very extensive subject, but presupposing such rudimentary knowledge he centered his attention upon the function of certain appropriate figures to the oratorical style. As far as the Renaissance was concerned, nevertheless, Cicero was as much an authority on the figures as on other rhetorical matters, since at the time he was still almost universally regarded as the author of that astute treatise, *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*, more than half of which was a detailed discussion of figures.

Even if the formidable name of Cicero had never been attached to the *Ad Herennium* its place in the Renaissance classroom was likely to have been assured; but the name of Cicero, added to its own special virtues, made its presence there all the more positive. At once the peculiar advantage and disadvantage of this work was its compendiousness and selectivity; into the last of its four books were marshalled almost seventy figures of speech, for the most part clearly and precisely defined and illustrated at length. Here indeed was a convenient text, admirable in its Latinity, which grammar school boys could easily work their way through and readily comprehend. The fourth book was nevertheless a rather limited work, principally concerned with oratorical style. Nor was it organized according to any feasible pedagogical principle. One scheme followed upon another without any particular order, and its illustrations were generally too long to be conveniently memorized. Contrary to

[4] Since it is beyond the scope of this study to examine extensively the ideals and methods of Renaissance education, I have taken for granted such detailed accounts of it as T. W. Baldwin's work, mentioned above, and Wilbur Samuel Howell's *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (Princeton, 1956), provide.

all later tradition, moreover, the illustrations, with but few exceptions, were all improvised by the author himself; contrary to the general tradition also was its uncompromising substitution of Latin for the rhetorical terms of the Greeks, which by the time of the Renaissance had made their permanent mark. Such a book, then, though indispensable, still left much to be desired; for a more complete treatment of the figures of speech one had accordingly to turn elsewhere.

Like the *Ad Herennium*—so far as the figures were concerned and the needs of the Renaissance classroom—the *Institutiones Oratoriae* of Fabius Quintilian were also indispensable, and inadequate. The great advantages of this work, certainly the greatest rhetorical treatise in the Latin idiom, were its broad inclusiveness and its immense authority. Unlike the *Ad Herennium*, it made extensive use of previous works which followed logical divisions. Ornaments of speech were sorted first into the major categories of tropes and figures (called *schemata* in Greek) and figures in turn broken down into figures of thought and figures of speech.[5] Illustrations were more brief but always pertinent, and always subordinated to the broader line of discussion: the circumstances and propriety of their usage. These illustrations, furthermore, were drawn from the best classical poets, orators and prose stylists. Following the accepted rhetorical tradition, Quintilian also marked out the pitsfalls of style, those vices and improprieties to be sedulously avoided. The scope of his work, accordingly, was considerably greater than that of the *Ad Herennium*. In the Latin curriculum of the 16th century its place was as certain as it was central.

By their very nature, however, the *Institutiones Oratoriae* were hardly suited to serve as a basic text on the figures of speech in the Renaissance grammar schools. There was first of all the inconvenience of the work from a pedagogical point of view: it made no systematic attempt at logical definition and gave at times almost no definition at all. And in spite of its inclusiveness it was still predominantly concerned with oratorical ornament; figures exclusively and peculiarly poetic were generally neglected. Moreover, Quintilian's leisurely, almost conversational manner frequently came close to obscuring the underlying logic; he gave the very definite impression, in fact, of having been annoyed by rigid system. Preeminently sane and judicious, discriminating but never pedantic, this was a work most suitably adjusted to the needs of the more mature scholar; for minds, however, still wrestling with fundamentals, it would have made a fearful introduction into the complexities of eloquence. Much like an authoritative reference book, this was a treatise to be consulted constantly by one who had learned the rudiments, but hardly a text to be studied and memorized by one at the elementary stage.

Markedly similar to one another in scope and arrangement, the treatises of the later Latin rhetoricians, Charisius, Diomedes, and Donatus, were all generally free from these particular disadvantages of Quintilian's *Institutiones*. In these rhetorics each figure was first defined, briefly but adequately, and then very briefly illustrated by one or more examples. In contrast to the amplitude and unobtrusive order of the *Ad Herennium* and the *Institutiones*, these rhetorics appear rather forbid-

5 Quintilian's discussion of the ornaments and defects of style occupies the second half of book eight and the first half of book nine in his *Institutiones*.

dingly mechanical in procedure. And whereas the older rhetoricians, being chiefly concerned with oratory, illustrated the figures principally from works of prose, these later writers drew their examples primarily from the poets. In their treatment of the figures, consequently, they tended to exclude most of the schemes peculiar to oratory and prose. As such they were somewhat less comprehensive than Quintilian, but they could be conveniently used to complement the *Ad Herennium*. None of them, of course, seriously rivaled the supreme authority which centuries of admiration had bestowed upon the names of Quintilian and Cicero; though Donatus, to be sure, the most famous of the three, carried considerable weight in Renaissance academic circles. Indeed his *Ars Major* or *Secunda* had long been a favorite school book of the middle ages and his Terentian commentaries had always won the highest acclaim. On the whole, however, chiefly for lack of inclusiveness, these rhetorics were also inadequate to the needs of the Renaissance classroom.

Of the minor Latin rhetoricians who treated the figures of speech with varying degrees of completeness, only three need here be mentioned: Rutilius Lupus, Aquila Romanus, and Julius Rufinianus. All of them had a distinct predilection for the terminology of the Greeks, from whom at least Rutilius had adapted much of his treatise. The most complete of the three, Rufinianus listed some eighty terms for figures, most of them very briefly defined but sufficiently exemplified. Though these rhetoricians could never play any but a minor role, they added an element of completeness to the information available in Latin on the figurative use of language. They were especially responsible for the introduction into Renaissance Latin rhetorics of many of the more obscure and subtle distinctions which Quintilian had sensibly ignored.

To pass now abruptly from the Romans to the Renaissance is not to imply that during the intervening centuries an interest in rhetoric was slight. Any student of medieval learning knows what a misrepresentation that would be. But the Middle Ages—at least from the viewpoint of the Renaissance—added no significant extension or organization to the works of the Latin rhetoricians, and hence need not detain us. Accordingly, we turn now to the various attempts by Renaissance scholars to establish some sort of elementary text for study of the figures of speech.

One of the earliest and certainly one of the most significant of such attempts was the *Carmen de Figuris* of Antonius Mancinellus, a work which bears the dedication date of 1489.[6] Drawing freely for his material upon Diomedes and Donatus, and somewhat less extensively upon Quintilian, Mancinellus introduced his brief discussions of each of some 127 figures with a short mnemonic verse. It was perhaps the first of the Latin rhetorics manifestly designed as a beginner's text.

Besides the mnemonics it added one further feature which was evidently a novelty in works of this kind: to simplify a comprehension of the different Greek terms, a brief analysis was usually added on their root etymologies. This was a procedure which Joannes Despauterius, taking the cue from Mancinellus, was to pursue to scrupulous and disproportionate length in his treatise on tropes and schemes. Mancinellus, however, never lost sight of his main purpose, to teach

[6] For the discussion which follows on the *Carmen de Figuris* I have made use of a copy in the University of Illinois Library which is dated 1497 in the colophon.

what the schemes are about. Following the order, generally, of Diomedes and Donatus, he grouped his figures under five major headings: Barbarisms, Vices, Metaplasm, Schemes, and Tropes. Though he also added a number of figures without any classification, on the whole his treatise was both orderly and inclusive. Many of its terms, however, were dispatched with such extreme brevity that one wonders why they were mentioned at all; and most of the mnemonics, it would seem, were better calculated to teach the vice of pleonasm than to facilitate the attainment of eloquence. Yet in spite of these defects, the *Carmen de Figuris* was certainly an admirable achievement in its day; for a long time it was both highly regarded and extensively used by authors who followed after. As one may see at a glance into the *Epitome,* it was certainly one of Susenbrotus' constant sources of reference; quite possibly it was the very text that he himself had studied in his own grammar school days.

Derived in large part from Mancinellus was the *De Figuris* of Joannes Despauterius, first dedicated in 1519. A remarkable testimony to this work's enduring qualities is the fact that even as late as 1686 it was printed in Edinburgh in conjunction with the author's *Grammatica.* But insofar as it was generally combined and printed with this grammar, a truly admirable work in its time and deservedly popular, it is not easy to determine exactly how well esteemed and extensively used was the section on the figures. In this section, it seems, the author's chief purpose was to include any and every figure the Greeks had ever mentioned; since more than 180 figures were treated, it is not very likely that any omissions were deliberate. In his choice of terminology, apparently, Despauterius was something of a Greek purist, for not a single Latin term appeared in his impressively long line-up. In the explanation of these Greek terms he obviously took meticulous delight, for almost half the discussion of many of the figures revolved upon a learned analysis of the various root meanings of the word. Illustrations and examples, as a result, bulked not much larger in Despauterius than in his chief prototype Mancinellus. In the organization of his treatise, moreover, he seemed to follow pretty much the arrangement established by Mancinellus. The vices, which were treated first, were subdivided into Barbarisms, Solecisms, Obscure and Ignoble Language, and Inordinate Speech. Thereupon followed the sections on Metaplasmus, Schemes and Tropes. The last section, almost a quarter of the whole, was a miscellaneous listing of figures which apparently the author could put nowhere else—that alone might be taken as the measure of all that he tried to include. Such a compromising arrangement, however realistic, was nevertheless contrary to the traditional notion that every figure could in some way be logically classified. In short, this was an extremely erudite and almost all-inclusive text, which seemed nevertheless destined in many respects to defeat its own pedagogical purpose. Certainly it could not be called a convenient elementary book. Meager in example, burdened with some of the most obscure figures, and overloaded with etymological discussion, the *De Figuris* of Despauterius was probably more used as a reference book than as a text for regular study.

One of the most radical and influential treatments of the figures of speech produced during the Renaissance was the section on *Elocutio* in the final form of Melanchthon's Rhetoric, published in 1531. With his characteristic

ally independent and logical approach to things, Melanchthon here discussed, defined and illustrated some seventy ornaments of style. About his system of organizing the figures we shall shortly have more to say, for by Susenbrotus' own admission it was on this system that he constructed his *Epitome*. For the time being, however, we may note in general the kind of changes Melanchthon effected in the logical organization of the figures.

At the introduction of his treatment of the figures, after commenting upon the traditional procedure of dividing the schemes into schemes of diction and thought, Melanchthon proceeded to announce his bold apostasy: "Disregarding this subtle and tenuous division, we shall make three orders of figures." The first of these orders governed schemes both grammatical and rhetorical. For the grammatical schemes, one was referred to the grammars, where such matters were more commonly treated. Melanchthon then proceeded to the rhetorical schemes of the first order, which had to do principally with emphasis and verbal brilliance; of these he listed and defined only thirteen, but he apparently made no pretense to including everything. To this first order, also, Melanchthon would relegate the tropes. These he nevertheless defined apart and treated in the traditional manner, though under *allegory* he added a ten-page disquisition on the four levels of scriptural interpretation. To the second order of schemes pertained the figures of thought, only ten of which were listed and defined. The third order in Melanchthon's treatment bulked the largest of all; for into this classification were gathered all those figures which chiefly concern prose and oratory, the figures of amplification. Not satisfied, however, with so generalized a classification for so important a group of figures, Melanchthon further divided this third order into seven logical categories: *De Definitione, De Divisione, Ex Causis, De Contrariis, Ex Similibus, A Genera, Ex Circumstantiis et Signis.* A particularly important fact about this whole arrangement, as we shall see when we come to consider the *Epitome,* was its complete omission of the defects of language.

Characteristic of the entire work, moreover, was a persistent note of logic; indeed one frequently gets the impression that abstract discussion had usurped the place of copious illustration. In the matter of illustration, this work took another new direction. Religious sentiments, apparently composed by the author himself and strongly evangelical in tone, were frequently intruded as examples of the figure under discussion; to these were also added a number of scriptural quotations. The result was a highly didactic work in a truly Renaissance way, logical in its conception and frequently designed, by means of its illustrations, to inculcate moral principle.

More popular than Melanchthon's work and much more adaptable as a textbook on the figures were the *Tabulae de Schematibus et Tropis* (1529?) of Petrus Mosellanus. Unlike the work of Despauterius, this indeed was a work which teachers would likely have found feasible on the most elementary level. Within the compass of twenty-six pages, Mosellanus treated some 98 figures, dispatching each in three or four lines, briefly defined and exemplified. These he arranged and classified after the manner, generally, of Diomedes and Donatus. For Mosellanus the comprehensive term was *schema,* which he first divided into the figures, the vices, and the virtues. The figures in turn were subdivided into figures of the word, of the locution, and of the construction. The vices were

thereupon classified, much in the manner of Mancinellus and Despauterius, as obscure, inordinate, or barbarous. The section on the virtues was made up almost entirely of the tropes and their numerous subdivisions. The whole, moreover, was conveniently schematized; at the head of each new division or subdivision the contents were posted in outline form, so that one at a glance could unmistakably find his way. This was certainly a treatise that young Latinists could readily memorize in both precept and example as a kind of first catechism of eloquence. Beyond the most elementary level, however, it could serve very little purpose, for it was no more than it claimed to be, a convenient tabular listing and definition of the most common figures of speech. To judge, however, from the number of its repeated printings and its widespread circulation, it obviously served a real need and served it successfully.[7]

So far we have considered only the most important of the systematic treaties on tropes and schemes produced in the early Renaissance, all of them works which Susenbrotus used extensively. But almost equally important to his *Epitome*, in its contents rather than in its form, were a number of other rhetorical treatises somewhat differently specialized but still much concerned with the figures. Chief among these were two rhetorical works of Erasmus, the *De Duplici Copia Rerum ac Verborum* (1512) and *Ecclesiastae sive de Ratione Concionandi Libri Quatuor* (1535). Both of these works pretty much supposed an elementary and systematic knowledge of the figures of speech, for they proceeded directly to a discussion of the various ways certain figures could be used to achieve particular effects. In the *De Copia Verborum*, Erasmus included an abundance of examples for many of the figures of words and locutions—the tropes generally; in the *De Copia Rerum*, on the other hand, he supplied a wealth of illustrative material on the subject of amplification. In the third book of the *Ecclesiastae* one finds what was perhaps his most systematic treatment of the ornaments of style, for here he attempted to define and illustrate all those figures which a minister of God might make use of in his sermons. As one may readily determine from a close textual study of the *Epitome*, for the total bulk of his material Susenbrotus relied upon this work perhaps even more extensively than upon the *De Copia* itself.

With this brief sketch before us of the long rhetorical tradition which Susenbrotus could draw upon for his compendium of tropes and schemes, we can turn now to a detailed analysis of that work's distinctive features. About the purpose and plan of the *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum*, we have no need to speculate, for in his introductory epistle Susenbrotus explained quite plainly both what he sought to do and how he sought to effect it. Because his students had nothing at hand for the study of tropes and schemes but the brief treatise of Mosellanus, he found time, he tells us, to compile his *Epitome* while the youth of the town was running wild at the Shrovetide celebrations. The purpose of the *Epitome* was twofold: first, to assist young scholars to comprehend in their study in literature the various devices an author might use to render his work artful and elegant; secondly, to provide them with both

[7] The British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale catalogs between them list eight different editions of the *Tabulae* of Mosellanus (Schade) between 1529 and 1553. The *Short Title Catalog*, however, does not list a single printing of this work in England, whereas it lists eight printings or registrations of the *Epitome* between 1562 and 1635.

precepts and examples by which with constant practice and imitation they could themselves attain their art of eloquence. With this volume of precepts and examples before them he advised all young scholars to "write, rewrite, and inscribe in your mind; then put it to use in writing and speaking, since . . . every art is devoid, without reflection and practice, of any use for anyone." Here, then, we learn the procedure to be followed for the attainment of eloquence: students were to write and rewrite both precepts and examples until they had them by heart; and from that fullness of knowledge and the habit of art acquired through imitation, they were thence to cultivate in both speaking and writing an artful and elegant manner. In the light of these objectives, we can understand somewhat more clearly now the inadequacies of those treatises on the figures of speech which we previously touched upon. No one of them was really well suited to meet this dual function: to provide precept for understanding and copy for imitation, not merely in oratory or prose or poetry, but in all three of these together. Bearing in mind this special purpose for which the *Epitome* was compiled, we may now be able to judge more adequately the plan of its organization.

Following the introduction Susenbrotus presented a full page diagram of the "Form of this Epitome." *Figure* was the generic term and this was divided into Tropes and Schemes. The Tropes in turn were subdivided into Tropes of Words (9) and Tropes of Units of Discourse (10). The Schemes were also subdivided, into Grammatical Schemes of two kinds, Orthographic (15) and Syntactical (32); and Rhetorical Schemes of three orders: of Words (14) Units of Discourse (11) and Amplification (41). At the bottom of the page the results were thus tabulated: "The Sum total of Tropes and Schemes in this Epitome: 137."

This arrangement, Susenbrotus asserted, derived from the order Melanchthon had devised before him. It seems quite evident, however, that in the organization of his work Susenbrotus also made use of the *In Philippi Melanchthonis Rhetorica Tabulae* (1537?), which had been drawn up by Georgius Major. One has only to compare Major's tables on the figures with the table given at the beginning of the *Epitome,* to note the similarities. Both tables, for example, divided the Grammatical Schemes into Orthographical and Syntactical Schemes, terminology which nowhere appeared in Melanchthon's treatment of the figures. But as Georgius Major tells us at the beginning of these tables, he had not ventured to execute this work "rashly, without the advice of the author." Apparently, then, Melanchthon was in some degree responsible for the organization of these outlines as well. With regard to the figures, the tables of Major differed from the work upon which they were based only in their greater inclusiveness; the basic order was exactly the same as that found in the final form of Melanchthon's Rhetoric. But this method of organizing the schemes, Susenbrotus further informs us, was in no way radically different from the traditional division into schemes of words and schemes of thought; he adopted Melanchthon's system, he adds, "more for the purpose of teaching than for overscrupulous exactitude." A close inspection of the procedure followed by both authors, however, reveals some rather important differences.

This system of Melanchthon, first of all, was fraught with the most serious possibilities once one sought to include again what he had purposely omitted.

In the traditional arrangement of the figures of speech, a separate classification had always been set up for the various defects, the vices and improprieties of language. Since he had chosen to discuss only the virtues or the ornaments of speech, Melanchthon had simply ignored the defects entirely and made no provision for them in his system. In reincorporating this group of figures into his work, Susenbrotus departed precariously—presumably "for the purpose of teaching"—from both tradition and good judgment: in the midst of Melanchthon's tidy framework dedicated to the virtues of eloquence, he installed a number of figures traditionally grouped apart and designated as vices. To be sure, most of these vices were properly labeled as such, but some were not, and even those so labeled might be excused on various pretexts. One might well imagine the particular dangers of that uncertain arrangement: exhorted to write and rewrite these figures and inscribe them in his memory, any young scholar without special warning might have a treacherous climb to Parnassus. This was indeed the most radical arrangement yet of any treatise on figures. Considering the widespread use of this *Epitome* as a classroom textbook, one is naturally inclined to wonder how frequently the vices were thus mistakenly emulated and cultivated as adornments of speech.

Nor was this inclusion of the vices with the virtues the only difference between the two authors' plan of presentation. As we mentioned above, Melanchthon had included under his first order of Schemes both schemes of grammar and schemes of rhetoric. Susenbrotus, however, removed the grammatical schemes from the first order completely and placed them as a kind of preface to the three orders which follow. Then he used the term rhetorical, which Melanchthon had employed only for certain schemes of the first order, to embrace all three orders of the schemes. This combining of all three orders of schemes under the term rhetorical was nevertheless a logical improvement. Susenbrotus, indeed, was far from following Melanchthon's order with slavish exactitude; by effecting so many radical changes throughout, in fact, he finally evolved a system uniquely his own. However questionable that system might be in one or two details, it had in any event every appearance of logical ordering.

Within this framework of reference, Susenbrotus' classification of particular figures followed somewhat closely the lists given by Georgius Major. Since Susenbrotus included in his *Epitome* at least a third again as many schemes as appeared in Major's tables, most of the categories were expanded considerably further. The greatest number of additions were to the grammatical schemes of syntax, where some twenty-four new figures, including the vices mentioned above, were added to Major's seven. With a listing of 132 figures—or 140, if one includes certain variants—the *Epitome* was, in fact, one of the most comprehensive of all such works. In view of his opportunity for real extravagance with a work like Despauterius' before him, Susenbrotus obviously exercised judicious restraint in choosing his material. Indeed, it was his express intention to be selective throughout, "to collect from select authors . . . the tropes and schemes which have been in more frequent use in the works of poets, historians, and rhetoricians." To these "select authors" we now turn our attention.

It was quite typical of Susenbrotus' scrupulous honesty that at the very

beginning of his two most widely used textbooks he disclaimed the fact of authorship and designated himself as only a "collector." This was for the most part true, of course, as a close study of the text readily reveals, but such a confession was hardly a typical contemporary practice. In the case of the *Epitome,* however, a disclaimant of authorship was more likely to have been an asset than a hindrance, since Susenbrotus was claiming in effect to do no more than let the best authorities speak for themselves. And as he related in the introduction, more than this it was his specific intention "to point out the way to the reading of those authors from whom this epitome has been excerpted." His object, accordingly, was not merely to provide young scholars with a ready textbook of sound precepts and apt examples, but to provide them as well with an abundance of references through which they might pursue their study to whatever length they would. On page five of his *Epitome* Susenbrotus accordingly submitted an impressive list of "the authors who have performed the labor for this little treatise": M. T. Cicero, Fabius Quintilian, Georgius Trapezuntius, D. Erasmus of Rotterdam, Phillip Melanchthon, Diomedes the Grammarian, Aelius Donatus the Grammarian, Antonius Mancinellus Veliternus, Martianus Capella, Consultus Chirius Fortunatianus, and Veltkyrchius the Rhetorician. This list was somewhat misleading and far from being complete, for certainly Susenbrotus might have listed at least as many names more. Let us now consider these sources of the *Epitome* and observe Susenbrotus' manner of using them.

As one might readily expect, the classical treatises which Susenbrotus used most extensively were the *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium,* here attributed to Cicero, and the *Institutiones Oratoriae* of Quintilian. Since Quintilian quoted some of his materials from the text of the *Ad Herennium,* at times it is not always easy to determine from which of the two works Susenbrotus directly took his material. But since he used both of these authors side by side and directly for his *Epitome,* this is a matter of no great importance; more significant is the different manner in which these authors are used. Only rarely does one find in the *Epitome* a verbatim rendering of an extended passage from Quintilian; more commonly the word order was rearranged, word choice was slightly varied, or sentence constructions were altered. The reason for this, in most instances, is that the excerpted passages were generally brief and Susenbrotus was consequently compelled to make such alterations as the change in context demanded. Quite frequently, however, Susenbrotus deliberately substituted, for no apparent reason, his own word or phrase or construction for that found in Quintilian. Upon Quintilian he generally relied for examples and finer distinctions, and less frequently for definitions; but he seldom quoted from this author, as he did from Erasmus and others, more than a few words or a few lines at a time. The two works were too disparate in purpose and methodology, it would seem, to permit more than fragmentary borrowings. From the *Ad Herennium,* on the other hand, Susenbrotus more frequently borrowed his passages whole, with little or no alteration. Such a procedure was much more feasible in this case since the *Ad Herennium* proceeded, much as the *Epitome* itself, from logical definition to abundant illustration. Besides, most of the figures listed here, being of the rhetorical order, frequently required longer examples which if borrowed at all had to

be borrowed whole. This does not mean that in every instance Susenbrotus refrained from taking liberties with even this sacred source; from time to time he felt compelled to abbreviate an example or rephrase an observation, but on the whole such changes are not common.

It is from the works of Erasmus, however, the rhetorical works especially, that the *Epitome* is most extensively excerpted. From the *Ecclesiastae* of Erasmus perhaps the greatest amount of material has been taken over verbatim. Whereas in his *De Copia* Erasmus had for the most part passed by the problems of definition and concentrated on illustration, in the *Ecclesiastae* he more systematically gave recognition to both. Hence it is that some of the longest continuous passages were borrowed directly from this source, and in the majority of instances verbatim. Throughout the latter part of the *Epitome* such extensive passages were also borrowed in their entirety from the *De Copia Rerum*. As for the *De Copia Verborum*, Susenbrotus was perhaps as much indebted to the commentaries of Veltkyrchius upon this book as to the contents of the book itself; throughout this section Erasmus was particularly careless of definition and quite indifferent to precise organization, whereas Veltkyrchius, with a distinct penchant for logical particulars, did his best to pin down under explicit definitions, numbers, and categories all of Erasmus' generalizations. It seems most probable, in fact, that "for purposes of teaching" Susenbrotus very deliberately followed the pattern which Veltkyrchius set in cataloging and numbering a whole series of distinctions such as the modes of a figure or the different ways in which it could come about. However mechanical, such a procedure was nevertheless pedagogically useful and was undoubtedly one feature which most strongly recommended the *Epitome* to Renaissance educators. From another rhetorical treatise by Erasmus, the *Modus Conscribendi Epistolas*, Susenbrotus could borrow only briefly, since that work said so little on the figures. From Erasmus's *Adagia*, finally, Susenbrotus mined out almost the whole of his material for the figures of *hyperbole* and *paroemia*. Thus the total bulk of all such material in some way derived from Erasmus is very considerable, well over a third, and perhaps nearer a half of the entire *Epitome*.

A surprising fact about Susenbrotus' list of authors is the mention of C. Chirius Fortunatianus, for to him, so far as I have been able to determine, he was indebted for no more than a single word, and that in the introduction. To Georgius Trapezuntius, moreover, he owed but a few examples and two or three definitions; to Martianus Capella, not much more than a few brief passages. More interesting is the fact that although he was not here listed, Thomas Linacre, the English grammarian and humanist, was ultimately responsible for almost a tenth of the entire *Epitome*. Such an omission, however, was not due to any dishonest intent on our author's part, but to the peculiar circumstances involved. For the materials and organization of his *Grammaticae Artis Institutio*, Susenbrotus had been most extensively indebted to the Grammar of Linacre—an indebtedness which he frequently and graciously acknowledged there. In compiling that section of the *Epitome* dealing with the grammatical schemes, Susenbrotus thereupon proceeded to excerpt from his own Grammar material which he had already taken verbatim from Linacre. There is some evidence, however, that even in compiling the *Epitome* Susenbrotus made

direct use of the work of Linacre; and on occasion the reader was also referred to Linacre within the text of the *Epitome* itself. Of similar interest to students of English literature is the fact that on more than one occasion materials for the *Epitome* were fairly certainly drawn from the brief little treatise on tropes and schemes arranged by the Venerable Bede. This was a work which in an interpolated version was not uncommonly printed throughout the Renaissance in combination with other minor rhetorical treatises; some such compilation of the minor figurists Susenbrotus apparently had on hand, for from time to time in the *Epitome* he made reference to such lesser lights as Rutilius, Aquila Romanus, Rufinianus, and Sulpitius Victorinus.

As for the other authors listed by Susenbrotus, Diomedes, Donatus, and Mancinellus, we need to note one fact particularly: in both form and content—especially as pertains to the figures—the rhetorics of Diomedes and Donatus were so much alike as to be frequently identical; and upon these two authors Mancinellus, in turn, relied very heavily for his matter. Quite often, accordingly, it is simply impossible to decide which of these three authors Susenbrotus might have used directly. This situation is further complicated by the fact that Despauterius, with whose work Susenbrotus was certainly familiar, had derived his treatise in no small part from all three of these authors and from Mancinellus particularly. In the first half of the *Epitome,* Susenbrotus in his turn is frequently indebted to all four. Of these, Mancinellus was by far the most important, for it was he who contributed one of the *Epitome's* distinctive features, its brief mnemonic verses. In this, too, we can see how pedagogically functional that work was intended to be, and how from a wide variety of sources every conceivable means conducive to that end was brought to focus in it.

For another of these distinctive pedagogical features, certainly one of the most important, Susenbrotus was probably further indebted to the Rhetoric of Melanchthon. As we noted above in our discussion of that work, not the least of its departures from tradition was the religious and moral character of part of its illustration. One cannot read much of the *Epitome,* in its later sections especially, without soon becoming aware how morally didactic it was in both tone and sentiment; the very introductory epistle, in fact, in its indignant excoriation "of this most profligate generation" and its even more profligate youth—this epistle alone set the moral tone which pervaded the entire work. Indeed, even if Melanchthon had never written a word, this religious spirit was still likely to have characterized the *Epitome,* for from all that is known about him, Susenbrotus was deeply, and perhaps even severely, religious; but Melanchthon's Rhetoric nevertheless set a precedent by which Susenbrotus could the more easily follow his own moral and moralizing predilections. It is significant, too, that in the comparatively few instances when Susenbrotus borrowed illustrative matter from Melanchthon, more frequently than not such matter was of a scriptural or moral nature. In this connection, moreover, one is inclined to wonder why, when he had evidently used him in some instances, Susenbrotus did not use Bede much more extensively; for Bede, it will be remembered, took his examples solely from the Scriptures. For the bulk of such material, nevertheless, Susenbrotus evidently relied upon his own extensive knowledge of Scriptures, of the New Testament and St. Paul especially. An

interesting by-product of this moral didacticism was the manner in which Susenbrotus altered the meaning of *Cacemphaton,* contrary to all established tradition, from a combination of words indecently suggestive to a combination merely harsh in sound. The age-old illustration for this rhetorical vice, *arrige aures Pamphile,* was certainly not fit copy, he decided, for the study of eloquence.

In retrospect we can now see more clearly the many reasons why the *Epitome* of Joannes Susenbrotus became for the Renaissance the definitive work of its kind. It was designed first of all to meet a dual classroom need: to provide instruction on the meaning of the figures and copy for imitation. Its first objective, accordingly, was to define with both clarity and precision; and to this end, it will be noticed, Susenbrotus very frequently gave not only one, but even two or several definitions. Nor was that all. To facilitate learning these figures, every conceivable logical device was brought to bear on their presentation; and to assist the memory, whenever possible, the mnemonics of Mancinellus were also added. As for copy, it was supplied in abundance, but should even that be inadequate, young scholars were reminded constantly where lay even greater treasures. It was, moreover, an epitome in the real sense of the word; for the most part only those figures of particular merit or other importance survived the author's sharp scrutiny and eclecticism. A distinctly moral and didactic tone, finally, pervaded the entire work. This, in brief, was the *Epitome,* and these the reasons for its widespread popularity; these the reasons why for nearly a hundred years, from 1541 on, it was a schoolbook almost without rival, a text of consummate achievement.

DEMOCRACY: CHALLENGE TO RHETORICAL EDUCATION

Virgil L. Baker and Ralph T. Eubanks

"Democracy," wrote Professor T. V. Smith, "is a state of mind by and for the individual."[1] So conceived, democracy is far more than just polity; it is a life-sustaining attitude about human beings. It is a way of living that says yes to life—that affirms the possibilities of Man and forever beckons the better angels of his nature. For its central and controlling concern, Democracy takes no less a value than the dignity and worth of the individual person.

It is thus hardly an accident that both the polity and the noble concept were cradled together in the ancient Greek culture. Since its first full-scale trial in Periclean Athens almost two and a half millennia ago, the Democratic Way has held special significance for Western Man, and to all men everywhere it has held out hope for a society of Justice. Democracy has helped to form the vision of life that has given Western Man his finest prospects. Along with its counterpart, the liberal way to education, democracy has bespoke his deepest yearnings about his destiny. A line from Whitman resonates those yearnings: "I speak the pass-word primeval/ I give the sign of democracy."[2]

The development of democracy, despite its bright promise, has been slow; the Democratic Way is the hardest way. Yet all considered, the past record of democratic growth has been impressive, from the earliest Sumerian civilization to us of the modern world who have witnessed an unbelievably fast spread of the democratic faith. Says the noted philosopher, Humayun Kabir, from his vantage point in India: "The recognition of the dignity of the individual, even more than the increase of knowledge, is the special glory of the modern age. *For the first time in the history of the world, democracy has been accepted as a universal article of faith.* Practice may still fall short of profession, but the acceptance of the ideal is itself a great advance."[3] Kabir's statement may remind us of the English statesman Gladstone's conviction of a century ago that all nations were headed in the direction of democracy. But the sobering fact remains that even in the "Great Society," democratic practice still lags far behind profession.

To transform universal democratic faith into universal democratic practice suggests deep commitment and a heavy burden of individual obligation. Democracy levies obligation on those who enjoy its fruits. Nothing less is required than the obligation we placed upon ourselves by the words "sacred honor" in our Declaration of Independence. And if we need heart in the challenging job before us, let us turn again to the challenge of Lincoln's high resolve for freedom at Gettysburg, and to Wilson's plea

Mr. Baker is Professor of Speech and Mr. Eubanks Assistant Professor of Speech, University of Arkansas.

[1] T. V. Smith and Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Democratic Way of Life: An American Interpretation* (New York, 1955), p. 10.

[2] "Song of Myself," Sec. 23, l. 506.

[3] Humayun Kabir, "Faiths For a Complex World," *The American Scholar*, XXVI (1957), 418-19. Italics supplied.

that the world be made safe for democracy.

As teachers of rhetoric, a special duty falls in our way. We are acutely aware that democracy is neither static nor bestowed. We know also that we have to earn it by living it; that as we live it the democratic spirit grows. But we are also alive to the close ties between rhetoric and democracy. Thus, we recognize the wisdom of Professor Kurt Riezler's comment that "democracy lives and has all its strength in the vigor and intensity of the process of mutual response within which the talkers listen and the listeners talk back."[4]

Our special duty is here clearly marked. We must be concerned with our "sacred honor" as rhetoricians. Our obligation to our students cuts through to the kind of rhetoric we teach. The values of democratic living should undergird and inform our rhetorical instruction. Such commitment must result in our being more concerned with the ethical dimension of rhetoric and with the extension of the discipline from a mechanical, a-democratic study to a rhetoric of principles for democratic speaking.

Toward the end of expanding the concept of rhetoric to meet the challenge of modern democracy, we offer here four basic postulates about rhetoric and rhetorical education: (1) that a genuine rhetoric functions to adjust worthwhile ideas to people and people to worthwhile ideas;[5] (2) that the central objective of rhetorical education in our society should be the preparation of men and women to speak compellingly for human and humane values as they are reflected in the democratic ideal; (3) that rhetorical training, as the training of the good man skilled in speaking, deserves a closer articulation with the aims and procedures of liberal arts and general education programs;[6] (4) that the most promising pattern of rhetorical training is that which seeks to establish a closer bond among the kindred disciplines of rhetoric, ethics, politics, and poetics.

1.

Some years ago the editors of the *Great Books of the Western World* set about the task of preparing a syntopical guide to the reading of these works. The result of their efforts was a collection of essays about the 102 main themes which have occasioned "a continuous discussion over thirty centuries of Western Civilization." One of the common topics of this "Great Conversation," the editors found, was *rhetoric*, which began as the art of oratorical discourse in ancient Greek civilization and which has been taught continuously for the past two and a half millennia.

We might well ask: Why has rhetoric —defined simply as the art of speaking and writing effectively—been so assiduously cultivated by Western man? For our answer let us go to Robert Maynard Hutchins' brilliant comment on the nature of the "Great Conversation." Wrote Hutchins:

> The tradition of the West is embodied in the Great Conversation that began in the dawn of history and that continues to the present day. Whatever the merits of other civilizations in other respects, no civilization is like the West in this respect. . . . The goal toward which Western society moves is the Civilization of the Dialogue. The spirit of Western civilization is the spirit of inquiry. Its dominant ele-

[4] Quoted in Karl R. Wallace, "Rhetoric, Politics, and the Education of the Ready Man," *The Rhetorical Idiom*, ed. Donald C. Bryant, (Ithaca, New York, 1958), p. 87.

[5] Adapted from Donald C. Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Function and Its Scope," *QJS*, XXXIX (1953), 413.

[6] See Everett L. Hunt, "Rhetoric and General Education," *QJS*, XXXV (1949), 275-79. We are much indebted to this provocative and spirited essay.

ment is the *Logos*. Nothing is to remain undiscussed. No proposition is to be left unexamined. The exchange of ideas is held to be the path to the realization of the potentialities of the race.[7]

A passionate faith in the creative, the living thought—this is the animating center of our Western culture. Western man has been (and is) an avid searcher after truth; he has also striven mightily to tell others what he has believed to be true, not only about speculative matters but also about practical affairs. He has been a Thinker; he has been a Talker. Is it any wonder he has cultivated, as no other modern civilization has, the arts of effective verbal expression? Is it any wonder that one might characterize rhetoric in the Western tradition as "the art of giving effectiveness to truth?"[8]

In the authors' view, the conception of rhetoric as the method, the technique, of giving impulse to man's cherished meanings is the soundest conception upon which to base instruction in the art. Professor Bryant puts the matter succinctly when he says: "Rhetoric aims at what is *worth* doing, what is *worth* trying."[9] This view rejects out of hand what might be termed in our times the "rhetoric of frivolity," and the "rhetoric of the 'quick sell.'" In the Western tradition, rhetoric has been concerned with Ideas that make a difference in the affairs of Men. It's *special* task has been the task of helping men solve wisely their so-called "unsolvable problems." In the atom age, when Western Civilization desperately needs liberally educated expositors and advocates with the mentality and the humanity to help resolve great social and moral issues, can we afford to settle for less than a view of rhetoric which emphasizes substance and ethic as well as technical skill?

Intelligent and responsible talk about things that matter—this seems a sensible conception of rhetoric for our times. Certainly this is the true function of rhetoric in the Civilization of the Dialogue, and it seems proper to foster the tradition. If the term "rhetoric" has lost in our day most of its noble connotations, it may well be that we have allowed ourselves to drift too far from our classical moorings.

2.

Three of our foundation premises concern rhetorical education. The first is this: the overriding aim of rhetorical education should be the development of men and women with the power to give impulse to the humane values of the democratic ideal.

In a real sense, the call is for elevation of rhetoric to a higher estate. We can't evade the fact that our pluralistic culture which prizes "status" and "success" promotes a rhetoric of self-realization, in which the main question is not the nurture of values but the celebration of results. The classical tradition can help us here, for it teaches that overemphasis on technique and results creates a sophistic rhetoric. Professor Richard Murphy reminds us that our present condition carries embarrassing sophistic overtones. "Among the areas of speech," he says, "rhetoric alone lags in its concern for values."[10]

Our position is that a rhetoric of significance can only be wrought from humane values. Men live by values, and values live only as expressed. May we

[7] Robert Maynard Hutchins, *The Great Conversation: The Substance of a Liberal Education*, Vol. I of *Great Books of the Western World* (Chicago, 1955), 1.

[8] See Charles Sears Baldwin, *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1924), p. 5.

[9] Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Function and Its Scope," *op. cit.*, p. 415.

[10] Richard Murphy, "Preface to An Ethic of Rhetoric," *The Rhetorical Idiom*, p. 130.

suggest that we adopt as our value-touchstone the democratic ideal of the fullest possible development of human potentialities. With this ideal before us, it may be possible for us to achieve a *true rhetoric* whose function is—using Professor Richard Weaver's phrase—to show men "better versions of themselves."[11]

Democracy, as we have seen, is a great driving force in the world today and millions of human souls are guided by its trinity of ideals—liberty, equality, and brotherhood. The democratic way of life is yet young, and its guiding values delicate. Walt Whitman wrote in 1871: "Democracy is a word the real gist of which still sleeps, quite unawaken'd. . . . It is a great word whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted."[12] Unless undergirded by a set of empirical guides, however, democracy's classical ideals can never be satisfactorily achieved. With Eduard C. Lindeman, we believe that the modern democratic mode of life can be attained "only if its precepts and ways of living are incorporated in the educational system."[13] Since democracy functions largely through speech and speechmaking, rhetorical education has a special mission to perform in reaffirming the ideals of democracy. Democracy will live universally only as its principles and spirit are made articulate through daily speech.

3.

A related premise is that rhetorical training should be more intimately associated with the content of liberal and general education. The aims of the older liberal arts training and the newer general education plans are essentially the same. Human excellence, both public and private, is the ultimate goal of each. Both programs have as their master design the "creation of the whole man, a thinking, feeling, acting man,"[14] who can perform effectively both in achieving for himself a good life and in helping to shape a good community.

Our contention is that rhetorical training should occupy a more central role in our humanistic educational designs. The foundation courses in college speech departments, since they are concerned with investigation, observation, reflection, critical listening, aesthetic interpretation of literature, logical analysis, and linguistic synthesis, contribute handsomely to liberal arts and general education. But speech training—rhetorical training in particular—can make still further contributions to the creation of the whole man when it is linked more closely with the content of the liberalizing curriculum—the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences.

Properly taught, rhetoric can assist in the discovery of the complex interrelationships among the various areas of knowledge. Such discovery leads to wisdom. We live in a crucial period of man's history, and the ability to see interconnections between areas of knowledge was never more important than now. Stuart Chase reminds us: "A mature mind combines reliable information with good judgment, and one definition of good judgment is appreciation of relationships between fields of information."[15] A speech teacher who himself is grounded solidly in the liberal arts will capitalize on the fine opportunities in his classes for helping students dis-

[11] Richard Weaver, *Ethics of Rhetoric* (Chicago, 1953), p. 25.
[12] Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*.
[13] Smith and Lindeman, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
[14] Elbert W. Harrington, "The Role of Speech in Liberal Education," *QJS*, XLI (1955), 219.
[15] Stuart Chase, *Some Things Worth Knowing: A Generalist's Guide to Useful Knowledge* (New York, 1958), p. 10.

cover such connections among bodies of knowledge.

Rhetorical training can also serve the cause of liberal education when it is joined closely to mankind's great thoughts, to our democratic heritage, and to important themes of our contemporary world. The tradition reaches deep into ancient Greek culture—back to the educator Isocrates who insisted that his pupils speak only on noble, Pan-Hellenic themes, topics aimed at "the welfare of mankind."[16] In our own classrooms the teacher of speech can play a vital part in the creation of the whole man when he directs his students toward the choice of liberalizing speech topics and the persistent issues of public life.

4.

Our final contention is that rhetorical training can be made more potent by the re-establishment of tight bonds among the kindred disciplines of *rhetoric, ethics, politics,* and *poetics.* To do so would carry us closer to the goal of a democracy-centered speechcraft which stresses the use of speechmaking to establish universal human institutions founded upon universal human values.

The idea of speechcraft as a union of politics, ethics, and rhetoric is far from new. It goes back to the days of the great social democracy of Periclean Athens. But seldom has the idea been practiced. Professors Thonssen and Baird, writing in 1948, reemphasized the need for a modern democracy-centered rhetoric that will fuse ethics and politics:

> Rhetoric has long been the handmaid of politics. Its association should be made closer, more direct. While it is not necessary to regard politics as a branch of rhetoric, it is essential that we recognize fully the importance of speechcraft as a means of realizing desirable ends of political action. . . . But . . . the mere possession of the tools of persuasive manipulation—without a stabilizing ethic to control their usage—is not enough. If politics—and, in its turn, rhetoric—is associated with the means of getting things done, it is imperative that ethics, which deals with ends and relative values of what is achieved, be reunited with the political art. Rhetoric, as the intermediary between the will to action and the achievement of the result, must accordingly be conceived as both a political and an ethical instrument. This is another way of saying, perhaps, that there must be moral principle guiding the liberal tradition.[17]

Politics is the science of building a stable, satisfying social order. Ethics deals directly with the creation of the good man.[18] Rhetoric locks shields with both politics and ethics to help them realize their goals.

A virile rhetoric is wanted, for its tasks get heavier as civilization grows more sophisticated and the stakes modern man plays for get higher. Above all, rhetoric needs the vitality which strong doctrines of invention and style can give to it. Without question, the inventional resources of traditional rhetoric have been handsomely enriched by modern science and philosophy. Accessible to the contemporary rhetorician are the most sophisticated tools for conducting logical analyses of doubtful propositions. The Dewey formula comes immediately to mind as only one example.

But the canon of *elocutio* is in desperate need of nourishment. We have almost starved rhetorical language with the doctrine of clarity (or better, "non-

[16] See Donald Lemen Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York, 1957), p. 58; "Isocrates," *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th ed., XIV, 879; George Norlin (trans.), *Isocrates* (Loeb Classical Library, 1928-1930), II, 339.

[17] Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, *Speech Criticism* (New York, 1948), pp. 466-67. For a penetrating analysis of the relationships between rhetoric and politics, see Karl Wallace, *op. cit.,* 71-95, and the same author's essay, "Rhetoric and Politics," *Southern Speech Journal,* XX (1955), 195-203.

[18] See Wallace, "Rhetoric, Politics, and Education of the Ready Man," *op. cit.,* p. 79.

ambiguity") which, by an unfortunate perversion, has led us toward an ideal of language usage variously described as "scientific," "logical," or "neuter." Professor Richard Weaver speaks wisely to the point: "Since we want not emancipation from impulse but clarification of impulse, the duty of rhetoric is to bring together action and understanding into a whole that is greater than scientific perception."[19] In a nutshell, we have suffered glorification of the *denotative* quality of language at the expense of the *connotative*. We have celebrated the *literal, designative* function of language, yet allowed the *symbolic* function to fall into decay. Effective rhetoric has always been clear rhetoric—"*instant intelligibility*"—to use Arthur Edward Phillips' famous phrase. The best rhetoric has always been verbally accurate, precise. But the most compelling rhetoric has also always been rhetoric which employs—in the words of the late Lew Sarett—"language that cuts into the mind." The very nature of rhetoric suggests the inevitability of evocation in style. A scientific statement is indifferent of value; rhetorical discourse *must* be significant of value. Says Weaver, in explanation of the difference in a scientific and a rhetorical statement: "The difference is that science is a partial universe of discourse, which is concerned only with facts and the relationships between them. Rhetoric is concerned with a wider realm, since it must include both the scientific occurrence and the axiological ordering of these facts. For the rhetorician the tendency of the statement is the primary thing, because it indicates his position or point of view in his universe of discourse. Rhetorical presentation always carries perspective. The scientific inquirer, on the other hand, is merely noting things as they exist in empirical conjunction."[20] In its sobering task of providing man the wisest counsel possible on the unquieting questions of moral conduct that beset him, rhetoric must call upon the evocative (symbolic) power of language. It is precisely in this connection that contemporary rhetoric needs the help of poetics, a kindred discipline, whose special function is to express in verbal terms human experience "at its fullest, noblest, and best."[21] Like rhetoric, its significance is a moral significance; inescapably both rhetoric and poetics render judgment on human values.[22] There are indeed differences in the two modes of expression—differences that have been recognized since pre-Aristotelian times.[23] But there are striking similarities, as anyone knows who has pondered the great ceremonial addresses of the ages and has enjoyed the poetry of Whitman and Sandburg. And we are forced at last to admit that there is high similarity of expression between Churchill's "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat," and T. S. Eliot's sensuous lines from "Prufrock," "I have measured out my life with coffee spoons." If we are to rehabilitate *elocutio,* then we must go to the discipline that seeks ever for *beauty* and *power* of expression. Put another way, if rhetoric is to *energize values,* it must go quite beyond what Richard Weaver so aptly terms, "nuclear meanings," beyond merely clear, designative language. It must have the creative plusses of language expression that are the stock in trade of poetics. Rhetoric can find rich

[19] Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[20] Weaver, "Concealed Rhetoric in Scientistic Sociology," *The Georgia Review,* XIII (1959), 20-21.

[21] Donald A. Stauffer, *The Nature of Poetry* (New York, 1946), p. 264.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[23] One should recall here the definitive essay by Hoyt H. Hudson, "Rhetoric and Poetry," *QJS,* X (1924), 143-54.

mead in the practices of poets, particularly the contemporary greats. If Plato was correct in suggesting that the rhetorician be a logician, Emerson was equally correct in urging that "The orator must be, to a certain extent, a poet."[24]

May we suggest, finally, that a rhetoric equal to the task of today's awesome practical problems needs all the incisiveness that the sharpest edged dialectical tools can give to it. But it needs also, more than ever, the imaginative power of poetic expression. Such a rhetoric, we might also note, must lead inevitably to the creation of a democratic climate favorable to the growth of the whole man who not only investigates and thinks but feels, imagines, and acts.

5.

We have tried to outline an educational pattern for the training of Cato's "good man skilled in speaking." We conceive that pattern as one which seeks to establish closer bonds with the liberalizing studies; which keeps rhetoric oriented toward problems of truth and value that make a difference in the lives of men; which gives to rhetoric no less a central task than cultivation of the concept of the worth and dignity of the individual—a concept which the fledgling art of rhetoric helped to nourish in the ancient Greek culture that produced both the art and the noble concept. Such an educational pattern is in keeping with both the spirit and the goals of the Civilization of the Dialogue, where comprehension and expression, *Logos* and *Eloquence,* have been as one in the civilizing process.

[24] "Eloquence," in *Society and Solitude*. Emerson regarded "imagery" as a key feature of rhetorical method; he is concerned with the importance of the symbolic and connotative aspects of style. "Put the argument into a concrete shape, into an image," he continues, "—some hard phrase, round and solid as a ball, which . . . [the audience] can see and handle and carry home with them, —and the cause is half won."

EDITORIAL

TRANSITION

This first issue of Volume XLVI marks the changing of the guard for a triennium, and the first parade of a new editor and editorial board. The fifteenth editor marks the occasion with some acknowledgments, announcements, and affirmations.

The retiring editor, Donald C. Bryant, has done everything possible to make the change an orderly transition. In need of counsel from those who have survived a term, the editor has asked the latest three editors to serve as an Advisory Board on policy.

The Editorial Board is representative of many schools and geographical areas; members hold sixty-eight degrees from thirty-one universities and colleges, and are from all regions, including the fiftieth state. To designate their responsibility for supplying copy, the editors of New Books in Review and of Shop Talk have been titled Contributing Editors. The Associate Editors represent various areas of study. Theirs is the job of reviewing articles and making recommendations for publication.

In the areas of interest listed on the inside cover, a few changes have been made to conform to contemporary idiom or for emphasis. Experimental and Quantitative Studies has been added to encourage papers in the newest area, and to dispel any notion that *QJS* is interested only in historical research. The Classical Tradition has been recognized by name to remind everyone that articles having historical and critical points of view will be no less welcome.

The policy of *QJS* has long been established, and the editors plan no spectacular changes. The journal publishes scholarly articles of general significance in all areas of speech. In protection of the general nature of *QJS*, in 1930 SAA established *Speech Monographs*, for extended technical papers, special bibliographies and issues, detailed listing of theses and dissertations, and digests of specialized research; in 1952 *The Speech Teacher* was founded for articles of predominant or special concern in elementary and high school speech, and pedagogy.

The studies of trends in *QJS* made by Franklin H. Knower (1915-1934, *QJS*, June 1935) and Keith Brooks (*SM*, November 1959), reveal general consistency. In the earlier period, 79.4% of *QJS* articles were pertinent at all levels of education; in the more recent period 87.3% have a cosmopolitan interest. The only exception in trends is the increasing proportion of articles in Rhetoric and Public Address, as journals in speech and hearing, and theatre have been established.

The editor is aware of various ideas for reform. Some persons would prefer the journal more professionally promotional. Others advocate a popular journal, which might be put on sale at the newsstands. A petition presented at the Washington convention called for printing of "at least one article in every issue . . . in INTERLINGUA." Despite these worthy ideas, the editors feel pledged to carry on what has been the tradition, to publish representative, readable articles in the field of speech.

Our hope is that members will continue their support by sending in short and medium length articles (1,500-5,000 words), exchanging ideas in The Forum, sending on news of professional interest, writing book reviews, and of course, by reading, pondering, and filing the journal.

THE FORUM

WHY THE PROFESSIONAL COLD SHOULDER?

To the Editor:

During the 1930's everyone became aware of Choral Speaking. This came largely from the stimulus of Marjorie Gullan, who visited several American campuses and gave brief courses in this technique. Marjorie Gullan is a dynamic personality and so attracted throngs to her courses. Teachers without her background, some without any training in interpretation, began directing speech choirs and "demonstrating" some very poor results. Regrettably some of these demonstrations took place at regional and even national meetings. Naturally choral speaking fell into disrepute. It went the way of a fad.

But choral speaking is not a fad. It is an effective and interesting classroom technique based on sound principles. It is the group method of training in speech and interpretation. It can be an art. Why isn't it being used?

All good teachers of oral interpretation are equipped to teach choral speaking. The principles are the same as those used in solo interpretation plus the techniques essential to a group. Surely these added techniques would not be difficult for a teacher with imagination and creative ability.

What is the position of choral speaking today? In 1955 Ted Skinner of Lamar State College, sent out a questionnaire to all teachers of interpretation, and one of his questions was on the verse speaking choir. Of 99 teachers who answered his questionnaire, 44 replied they once had speech choirs, but all but 15 had discontinued them. Why?

To get some answers I sent out a questionnaire to the 44 teachers who had once directed a speech choir; 30 responded. Fifteen have continued speech choirs; 15 have not. Why did the 15 stop teaching choral speaking? Eleven do not have time for it; two say it is not academic; and two say it is a good teaching device but not an art form.

To those who do not have time for it I can only say that if the techniques they do have time for are more effective they must be achieving some exciting results. I cannot understand the two who say it is not "academic." If studying great poetry is not academic, what is? Studying in choral speaking is done not only for comprehension but for interpretation, for complete absorption of the poem. The students live the experience with the poet and re-create this experience for others through mind, heart, and body. This is not only academic; it is artistic.

The last two, who say choral speaking is a good teaching device but not an art form, are absolutely right in the first half of their statement. It is an excellent teaching device, and this alone should secure a place for it in the curriculum. But to say that it is not an art form indicates that they have not given sufficient time to it. It takes a long time for one person to master an artistic interpretation of a poem. It takes much longer for twenty or more to do this and then blend their interpretations into a unified whole. But when they do, they know, the audience knows, everyone knows, this is an art! John Masefield has said that "Poetry should be as

exciting as a football game!" And it can be.

Why is choral speaking receiving the professional cold shoulder? I'd really like to know, and I'd welcome hearing from anyone on the subject.

AGNES CURREN HAMM
Mount Mary College

THE RIGHT EXPERT—AT THE RIGHT TIME

To the Editor:

In a Forum letter in the October 1959 *QJS*, Walter F. Stromer makes the suggestion that we should call in the experts in an effort to provide our students with better balanced national intercollegiate debate propositions. I would like to agree with the idea of calling in the experts, but suggest a different sort of expert from the ones proposed.

Professor Stromer wrote, "Why not call in the experts [from other fields] in the spring and let them suggest some topics?" This has been done for the past several years. In the opinion of this writer it is of limited value. As a member of the Committee on Intercollegiate Debate and Discussion, I regularly invited a number of persons prominent in public life to suggest debate propositions. This was done in the hope that various editors, publishers, presidents of major universities, government officials, and others prominent in public affairs would be "experts" on what problems would be the subject of Congressional and public debate in the coming academic year and thus could suggest timely and significant propositions. A number replied. The following samples are representative of suggestions received over the years:

Should not American political parties be realigned to provide a clear cut differentiation between conservative and liberal points of view? (President of a Midwestern university.)

Resolved: That science is more important than the humanities in education for the nation's service. (President of a large foundation.)

That citizens of the District of Columbia should be granted self-government and allowed to vote in federal elections. (Congressman.)

That the present postal rate structure is inimical to the best interests of the American people (with special reference to second class mail). (Publisher.)

That the European coal and steel community should be expanded to a broader program of economic and political integration. (Government official.)

That Indians be integrated into full American citizenship and that the segregated reservation system be abolished within five years. (Government official.)

What expert in the field of argumentation and educational debate would propose any of these for a national debate proposition? These suggestions shouldn't surprise us, however. They are, after all, what we reasonably could expect from persons not familiar with academic debating.

These samples suggest that the subject matter experts are not the best source for propositions; there is still another problem. Many subject matter experts cannot recognize a debatable proposition when they see one. Professor Stromer tells of a history professor who maintained the proposition, "Resolved: That the further development of nuclear weapons should be prohibited by international agreement," was a poor one because the ultimate decision would be based on secret information not available to the debaters. This is an excellent case in point. The fact is that if this matter does come up for ultimate decision it would be settled by debate in the Senate and in the public forums. A good deal of secret information would probably be made public at that time, just as much previously secret information was made public at the Geneva

negotiations. In this country we regularly debate matters on which there is relevant secret information. If we didn't, the history professor would have to terminate his course at some time prior to the Civil War; new information on the problems of that period is still being uncovered. Would the history professor want to suspend debate on all matters involved with secret information? Such a limitation would most seriously circumscribe the area of public debate and hamper democracy.

A subject matter expert, a well known economist, once assured me that a proposition about agricultural price supports was undebatable. He informed me that there was no rational case for price supports; they were simply political pap for farm state senators. I'll let my friends from the farm states answer that one. Although subject matter experts have definite limitations in the suggesting or phrasing of propositions, their advice, if taken judiciously, can be of real value. In phrasing propositions on labor a few years ago the Committee profitably consulted a member of a Wall Street law firm. In another year consultations with physicists, military officials, and research men at the M.I.T. Radiation Laboratories proved of value in phrasing a proposition on nuclear weapons.

It is not my purpose to decry experts; we need more expert advice from the right sort of experts. We teach our students that an expert is an expert in a certain area only. The problem here is one of argumentation and educational debate. The experts in this field are to be found among those who direct forensic programs and teach argumentation courses. Let us adhere to our own teachings and call in the experts from the appropriate subject field.

To be sure, these experts are consulted now in the annual spring poll by the Committee. Some give most valuable replies. Many, however, limit their reply to a word or two. Such curt suggestions as "labor," "something on education," or "Supreme Court" do not reflect the judgments needed. If all those seriously concerned with educational debate would take a few hours each spring to work out well phrased, carefully considered propositions in three or four timely and significant areas they would be making a real contribution. Expert advice would help. Let's have more of it—and at the right time—from the experts in the field of argumentation and debate.

There is one final problem raised by Professor Stromer's letter, the suggestion that on some propositions the "affirmative hasn't a chance." If one studies the tournament results of certain years it is undeniable that the affirmative—or the negative—certainly has an advantage. Is this, however, a problem, even granted that we want a fairly evenly balanced proposition? Will the student, or any advocate, in a non-academic debate be guaranteed that the evidence and reasoning is balanced exactly fifty percent on his side? Are not the greatest advocates those who won with the odds seemingly against them? If the concern be with the short term goal of winning a certain tournament, there would still seem to be no problem. Most tournaments are either unit (one affirmative and one negative team) or team (two speakers alternating as affirmative and negative) events. Thus any slight advantage to one side is cancelled out in the college's total record.

AUSTIN J. FREELEY
John Carroll University

FCC RESPONSIBILITY

The communication printed below was prepared by these officers of SAA: J. Jeffery Auer, Executive Vice-President; Robert G. Gunderson, Vice-Chairman, Rhetoric and Public Address Interest Group; James E. Lynch, Chairman, Radio-Television-Film Interest Group; Herbert A. Seltz, Advisory Committee, Radio-Television-Film Interest Group.

SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
Indiana University
January 14, 1960

Office of the Executive
Vice-President
Federal Communications Commission
Secretary, Mary Jane Morris
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Speech Association of America, an organization of over 7,500 members, drawn from university, college, and secondary school faculties, represents broad interests in radio-television, public address, theatre, and speech correction. By action of the Administrative Council on December 30, 1959, the Association designated the Executive Vice-President to present a statement on its behalf to the Federal Communications Commission, relative to Docket No. 12782, Order for Investigatory Proceeding, adopted February 26, and amended November 9, 1959.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Speech Association of America deplores the failure of the radio-television industry to provide balanced programming worthy of an educated and democratic society. The industry has failed to live up to its potentiality as an agency for disseminating knowledge, increasing public awareness of crucial issues of the day, or improving the public taste in drama. Even as a medium for entertainment, radio-television too often fails to meet the reasonable standards of enlightened audiences; instead, the industry's twenty-one inch image of man projects a callous contempt for human life, maudlin sentimentality, and brutality. Exaggerated and misleading advertising is common currency on the networks and encourages a cynical attitude toward truth and weakens public faith in the integrity of the spoken word. Thus radio-television, instead of fostering social, intellectual, and moral values, encourages the public to expect violence and deceit as commonplaces of human behavior.

II. ANALYSIS

Broadcasting, especially television, is comparatively young. We have been witness in a brief span of years to its technical development, its expansion of programming—including some of very high calibre, and its acceptance in the American home as a carrier of advertising and other persuasive messages. We are now entering, however, an era of evaluation, and are questioning whether the time is not at hand when we might expect maturity from the industry, and the provision of those services, other than commercial and technical, for which the pioneering broadcasters and legislatures held high hopes.

Recent Congressional investigations of the broadcasting industry and the studies by organizations of private citizens have identified apparent weaknesses in the structure of broadcasting, mainly in the areas of federal regulation, station and network operation, and advertiser control of programming. In the considered judgment of the Speech Association of America these are some of those weaknesses which should receive the most careful scrutiny of the Federal Communications Commission:

1. Too large a percentage of the broadcast day devoted to crime shows, westerns, and panel shows.
2. Too much reliance upon ratings.
3. Too much advertiser control of program content.
4. Too little balance between entertainment and effective public service programming.
5. Too many advertisements reflect poor taste and questionable ethics.
6. Too little educational and cultural programming in prime listening or viewing periods.
7. Too little experimentation with new ideas, talent, and production techniques.
8. Too little significant local programming, reflecting the communities in which stations operate.
9. Too little leadership displayed by the networks in setting program standards for their owned or affiliated stations.
10. Too little public awareness of the proper role of the Federal Communications Commission in judging programming and advertising against the standards of public interest, convenience, and necessity.

Present legislation governing broadcasting provides only one positive control: the license issuance and renewal power of the Federal Communications Commission. By selecting the proper trustees of the channels and frequencies in the spectrum, and by making certain that they operate in the public interest, the Commission can insure that the air waves serve the public to which they belong.

At the present time the networks, producers or transmitters of a large share of the programming in prime time, are without regulation. The only possible way that the Commission can exert an influence upon their operations is through network owned and operated stations and, indirectly, through the stations affiliated with the networks. In short, the networks are for all intents and purposes free agents, free to operate exclusively in their own interests.

Because of extreme economic pressures, especially in television, the networks have gradually been forced to surrender control of programming to the advertiser, and he develops his influence through a middleman, the advertising agency. For the agencies and advertisers there is no check or regulation from any source, save the Federal Trade Commission which deals only with matters of false and fraudulent advertising, and not with program content.

The primary hope for better broadcasting lies in the licensing and renewal power of the Federal Communications Commission. Present methods for selection of licensees and renewal of licenses need revision and strengthening, and an additional power to license interstate networks needs to be incorporated into the Communications Act. Specifically we urge consideration of the following recommendations.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There should be more careful screening of applicants for frequencies and channels in the spectrum. Licensees should be selected on merit alone, once the Federal Communications Commission is satisfied that economic qualifications are met. As a guide to prospective applicants, the Commission should set forth more specific rules for balanced programming.

2. The regulatory function of the Commission should be more widely publicized, and the Commission should actively solicit comment from the public about broadcasting practices. For example, all renewal hearings should be held in the area of the station under consideration, and careful Commission checks of programming promises and fulfillment should be supplemented by testimony from interested representatives of the public.

3. The Communications Act should be amended to give the Federal Communications Commission the power to license and regulate networks as well as individual stations. The Act should further be amended to define adequately the role of the Commission in judging and regulating programming and advertising both on the networks and on individual stations. The Act should also empower the Commission to revoke licenses in cases where stations or networks abandon their program responsibilities in favor of advertisers, agencies, and individual program packagers, and where this results in sub-standard programming.

4. The Commission should support directly, and encourage commercial broadcasters to support, the educational broadcasting movement. A nationwide educational broadcasting service should be available to every home in the nation.

5. Congress should provide additional funds to enlarge the staff and expand the facilities of the Commission and to raise the salaries of commissioners. Only with an extensive and competent staff can any of the preceding recommendations successfully and promptly be effected.

IV. CONCLUSION

It is our conviction that the viewing public is well aware that a station or a network—when it chooses to accept responsibility and display initiative in sound programming and ethical advertising—can provide superior programs that will be acceptable both to the audience and to the advertiser. What is needed to insure that stations and networks will accept that responsibility is a firm and guiding hand from the Federal Communications Commission, the public guardian of the people's air waves. The Speech Association of America believes that the incorporation of the above recommendations will provide the Commission with appropriate and necessary authority.

Respectfully submitted,
J. Jeffery Auer

ENTHYMEME REVISITED

To the Editor:

I thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated Mr. Bitzer's treatment of that most elusive Aristotelian concept—the enthy-

meme. The analysis of previous attempts to define the enthymeme shed more light than any of the challenged descriptions. However, in the attempt to formulate a definition of the enthymeme, I find several questions which seek an answer.

In defining the enthymeme, Bitzer suggested that the audience must, in the final analysis, supply the premises for the speaker. If this is so, then one must immediately ask, "*How* does the audience supply the premises?" Since the audience has no direct means of performing this function, perhaps it would be more accurate to say that, as in the scientific syllogism, the speaker supplies the premises, but does so only after careful analysis of the audience. This would certainly be in line with Aristotle's comments in the *Rhetoric* where emphasis is placed upon audience analysis in Book II.

Secondly, Bitzer holds that the enthymeme cannot be completed by the speaker in his study, but must be completed by the speaker when he is actually before the audience. Can this be the meaning of Aristotle? If one were to accept this description of the enthymeme, then he would be forced to argue that enthymemes can appear only in extemporaneous speeches. Any speech that was prepared in manuscript form for delivery could not, by Bitzer's definition, contain an enthymeme, for the speaker would have formed his argument before the audience was assembled. This means that Aristotle, in forming his concept of the enthymeme, would have excluded the carefully prepared works of such a master of oratory as Demosthenes. The question seems to be this: What would the deductive arguments in an essay or manuscript speech be called? These arguments, according to Mr. Bitzer's analysis, cannot claim place as scientific or dialectical syllogisms. Further, they cannot be called enthymemes because they are prepared by the author or speaker before he faces his audience in the flesh.

Mr. Bitzer's article sheds considerable light, but it seems that Aristotle's puzzle for students of rhetoric—the enthymeme—is still not completely solved.

THEODORE J. WALWIK
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NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ROBERT G. GUNDERSON, *Editor*

RAMUS AND THE DECAY OF DIALOGUE

Wilbur Samuel Howell

"Of the character of this writer's theories most students will probably be content to gain their information second-hand." With these words, James Bass Mullinger began his disdainfully brief account of Ramus in the essay which was awarded the Le Bas Prize at the University of Cambridge in the year 1866.[1] It is of course obvious that Mullinger meant his statement to excuse his readers from undertaking a direct study of the writings of Ramus. And it is quite as obvious from Mullinger's sketch of Ramus's influence on the teaching of logic in seventeenth-century Cambridge that he himself had read nothing but secondary writings on that particular subject, and not more than two or three of those. But his opinion is nevertheless instructive. It indicates, for example, that Ramus, whose fame was almost as great as Aristotle's on the banks of the Cam in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, had so far declined in reputation as to be an object of contempt some two hundred and fifty years later to a young Cantabrigian bent on a serious historical investigation of academic life in his alma mater in the seventeenth century. It indicates, too, that the academic judges of the essays submitted for the Le Bas Prize in 1866 saw no impropriety in awarding first honors to a young scholar who, at least in this one important instance, violated the scholarly principle that historical judgments must be based not upon hearsay but upon direct evidence—if the latter is available.

Mullinger's youthful blunder did not stand uncorrected upon his record. Eighteen years later, when he published the second volume of his full-length history, *The University of Cambridge*, he made amends to the memory of Ramus by devoting some eleven consecutive pages to the influence of that logician upon the course of study at Cambridge in the period before the accession of Charles I. In that account he mentioned Ramus's highly publicized attack on Aristotle at Paris when Ramus was candidate for the degree of master of arts; and he discussed Ramus's personal characteristics, the design, method, and merits of his famous *Dialecticae Libri Duo*, the extent of his influence in the academic world of Western Europe, and his controversial impact upon the schools of Cambridge University. Thus he silently atoned for his youthful shortcomings of method and attitude; and he went on to make a constructive contribution to the understanding of Ramism in the British Isles.

Mr. Howell, Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Princeton University, Editor of the QJS *from 1954 to 1956, is now at work on a history of logic and rhetoric in eighteenth-century England.*

[1] The essay was published the next year under the title, *Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century*. My quotation is from page 47.

Another historian of another great university later rediscovered and described the immense influence of Ramus in seventeenth-century America. Samuel Eliot Morison in *The Founding of Harvard College* (1935) and *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (1936) made it abundantly clear that Ramus's logic was at the heart of the curriculum of America's first center of learning, even though Harvard of the twentieth century had little awareness of that important fact. Morison may be said to have established Ramism upon a new footing in American intellectual history. Certainly his contribution outranks that of Frank Pierrepont Graves, whose *Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (1912), so promising as the first American book in its field, turned out to be little more than an English restatement of Charles Waddington's French biography of Ramus published half a century earlier.

American scholarship of the past twenty-five years has investigated still other aspects of Ramism. Shortly after Morison published his history of the founding of Harvard, Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass* (1936) called attention to the importance of Ramist logic as an underlying influence in Elizabethan literature. Perry Miller's *The New England Mind* (1939) reconstructed in detail the particular kind of Ramism that had flourished in seventeenth-century Harvard and colonial Massachusetts. Rosemond Tuve's *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery* (1947) investigated the question of connections between Ramist logic and the poetic imagery of Donne and his contemporaries. Sister Miriam Joseph's *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language* (1949) applied the theories of Elizabethan stylistic rhetoric, including those of Ramus's colleague Omer Talon, to the problem of understanding the literary language of England's greatest dramatist. And my own *Logic and Rhetoric in England: 1500-1700* (1956) devoted a hundred pages to the story of Ramus's reform of logic and rhetoric and to the impact of that reform upon logical and rhetorical theory in Britain from the 1570's to the end of the following century.

The two volumes now under review, the *Ramus and Talon Inventory* and *Ramus Method, and the Decay of Dialogue,* both by Walter J. Ong, S.J., Professor of English at Saint Louis University, constitute an important new development in the history of Ramist studies in America. Father Ong concerns himself with Ramus and Ramism, not as these subjects appear when they become entangled in the cultural histories of other countries, but as they appear when they are treated for themselves in their original environment. Thus he becomes the first American since Graves to write a full-length study of Ramus's life and works, and the first writer in any country to supersede Waddington in these basic fields.

Father Ong's *Inventory* lists the various editions of the writings of Ramus and his colleague from 1543 to 1950 in France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, the British Isles, Alsace, the Low Countries, and America.[2] There are some 800 items in this list of editions, or 1100 if individual works appearing in collections are separately numbered. The *Inventory* also contains works of nearly 400 Ramist educators and public figures.[3] Father Ong describes his general purpose in these words:

[2] For a convenient table showing the geographical distribution of these editions, see *Ramus Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 296.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

This Inventory is to provide elementary documentation for the study of Ramism and its milieu. It furnishes a list of all editions which I have been able to discover of works by Peter Ramus (1515-72) and his literary associate Omer Talon (the Elder, or Audomarus Talaeus, 1510?-62), together with subsidiary lists of materials and authors involved in Ramism, and locates copies of editions. It is organized, so far as possible, with a view to its being used by Renaissance scholars and others interested in the history of thought, literature, and culture who may be neither Latin specialists nor professional bibliographers, although it is hoped that Latinists and bibliographers, too, will find it usable.[4]

No Latinist, no bibliographer, no historian of logical and rhetorical theory, and no Renaissance scholar could fail to find this *Inventory* useful. It offers the most complete catalogue of Ramus's writings since Waddington's Latin and French biographies appeared, the former in 1848 and the latter in 1855. And it goes far beyond Waddington in the extent and accuracy of its coverage. Those of us who worked on Ramus and Ramism before this *Inventory* became available know how difficult it was to locate all editions and translations of given writings of Ramus, Talon, and the host of commentators whom they attracted; and we know, too, how inevitable it was that we should fail to be exhaustive in listing them. All we can do now is to admire the thoroughness of Father Ong's bibliographical study of Ramus, to offer him our compliments, and to regret that we did not have this guide when we would have been able to profit richly from it.

Father Ong's companion work, *Ramus Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, subtitled *From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason*, surveys Ramus's entire career, substantially revises and corrects the traditional version of his celebrated attack on Aristotle at the University of Paris in 1536, traces through four intricate chapters the distant and immediate background of Ramism, devotes four following chapters to the precise way in which Ramist logic developed, indicates in one chapter the parallel growth of Ramist rhetoric, and concludes with a short account of the spread of Ramism in Europe and with a suggestive statement of the significance of Ramism in the long perspectives of intellectual history.

The most informative and most enduring pages of this highly provocative work are those which deal with the development of Ramist logic. Father Ong begins his story of the evolution of this central aspect of Ramism by analyzing its earliest manifestations in Ramus's *Dialecticae Partitiones* (1543) and his *Aristotelicae Animadversiones* (1543); he next explains its hostile initial reception by the jurist Antonio de Gouveia and the scholastic philosopher Jacques Charpentier; then he describes at some length its resultant final formulation in Ramus's French *Dialectique* of 1555 and his celebrated parallel Latin work, the *Dialecticae Libri Duo* of 1556. Of particular value is Father Ong's careful delineation of the growth of Ramus's theory of method. He thus outlines the main ingredients of that theory:

Ramus will develop his own "method" by bringing together various loose ends in the post-Agricolan logical tradition. Sturm's didactic reading of Galen and Melanchthon's topical method will be fused with Caesarius' three requirements for demonstration and various other elements salvaged from Galen and other commentators on Aristotle's demonstration theory.[5]

To those who seek to understand how Ramus arrived at his famous theory of method, Father Ong's painstaking ex-

[4] *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, p. 1. Cited below as *Inventory*.

[5] *Ramus Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 240.

planation will offer new information and badly needed guidelines. This comment applies equally well, indeed, to his entire account of the stages in which Ramist logic reached its final form.

As for the distant and immediate backgrounds of Ramism, and their precise connections with Ramist logic and rhetoric, Father Ong's reconstruction is involved and complex. Perhaps its various constituents can be suggested in the following propositions: Ramism found its real focus in pedagogical exigency—in the need of Ramus and his colleagues in the universities to organize curricular subjects for easy comprehension by generations of teen-age students seeking on their own part to qualify as teachers. This exigency accelerated a shift already in progress from knowledge conceived as something heard to knowledge conceived as something seen in written words spread on a page. It was this shift which prepared the way for the invention of printing and the arrival of the Gutenberg era, and which was in turn influenced by these latter events. In the course of the shift, dialogue and disputation as forms of instruction decayed, while lecture-monologues, printed discourses, and textbooks filled with dichotomized diagrams, bracketed tables, and spatial charts, became the fashion. Ramus's logic, arising out of the humanist protest against scholasticism, yet ending as a scholastic instrument, represents this shift in a special way. In terms of the history of thought, Ramus's logic is part of a trend towards modern mathematical logic. It belongs, however, to the indirect, and not to the direct, line of descent from the quantification theory of Peter of Spain's *Summulae Logicales* (*ca.* 1246) to the mathematical logic of Boole, Frege, Russell, Whitehead, Carnap, Lukasiewicz, and Quine. By repudiating the Aristotelian categories and predicaments, with their basic orientation towards knowledge as something heard, and by accepting Agricola's topical logic, with its visual concept of arguments found or stored in "seats" or "places," Ramist logic became itself a visualist and hence a quantified logic, capable of being expressed in geometric diagrams. Ramus's theory of method, which he was instrumental in adding to logical theory, turned away from the auditory imagery involved in the classical notion of judgment, as that notion adapted itself to ancient dialectic; and it was reconstituted under Ramus's hand in terms of *dispositio*, which lent itself to visual analogies and diagrammatics. As for Ramist rhetoric, it followed a similar pattern. Committed exclusively to the last two procedures of the fivefold classical rhetorical program, it reduced style to ornamentation and tended to neglect oral delivery, with the result that style was treated in terms of dichotomized tables of tropes and figures, while oral delivery, as the sound, the resonance, the chief auditory dimension of discourse, lost its status. Thus rhetoric became silent, poetic analysis became a matter of statistical figure-counting, and the plain style emerged as the ideal style and as an open reminder that the nonrhetorical mode of expression was the only acceptable mode for a reasonable man.

These perspectives are fresh and interesting. But they do not seem to emphasize some principal forces that acted to produce Ramism in the sixteenth century, and that influenced logic and rhetoric when Ramism waned in the period after 1620. Father Ong notes, to be sure, that between the invention of printing and the year 1530, there were at least 160 printed editions of Peter of Spain's *Summulae Logicales*, whereas

there were only six editions between 1530 and 1639, and not one between 1639 and 1945.[6] Father Ong also notes that Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica*, the logic which superseded the *Summulae Logicales*, remained in manuscript from its date of composition around 1479 to the year 1515, when it was printed and rather abruptly became so popular as to achieve over forty printed editions before Ramus's logic crowded it out of the bookstalls not long after 1543.[7] What explains the sudden decline in the popularity of Peter of Spain's logic in the universities after 1530, and the sudden interest in Agricola's logic between 1515 and 1543? And why was it that Ramus's logic, which was based solidly upon Agricola's, held the center of interest in many universities in Western Europe from 1543 to 1620, and then suddenly began to lose its appeal? These specific questions cannot be satisfactorily answered by Father Ong's theories, except in a vague way. If we would answer them historically, we would have to begin, I believe, by recognizing that Agricola's logic, as a treatise upon the discovery of arguments for ready use in controversy, superseded Peter of Spain's logic, which was organized without specific reference to argumentative use, and it did so at the very moment when the bitter religious controversies of the sixteenth century were getting under way, when the ecclesiastical institutions that had endured for the previous thousand years were breaking apart, and the universities were suddenly confronted with the need to train controversialists and teachers of controversy who would be able to oppose or to defend reform. Ramus's logic superseded Agricola's after 1543 because it not only tidied up the Agricolan system of inventing arguments, but also developed an influential theory for arranging them. And Ramus's logic declined in the early seventeenth century, and ended its reign almost as abruptly as Peter of Spain's did in the sixteenth, because of a growing dissatisfaction with the old learning and because of a summons by Descartes for a logic of inquiry to replace the Ramist logic of communication.

The same general line of reasoning must be applied to the history of rhetoric in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Once Agricolan logic became the means by which invention and arrangement of arguments for controversy were taught, it seemed curiously redundant to continue also to teach invention and arrangement as parts of rhetoric, although there was an historical precedent, reaching back to Aristotle's *Topics* and *Rhetoric*, for preserving both a dialectical and a rhetorical approach to the discovery and organization of ideas. What Ramus did was to perceive and remove that redundancy. Thus he allocated invention and disposition to logic, while reserving to rhetoric the exclusive jurisdiction over style and delivery. For an historical situation in which learned controversy was of paramount importance, and popular communication was less vital than it later became with the rise of parliamentary governments, Ramus's reform had some justification. But it did not last much more than a century, and then it was replaced by a newer and more modern rhetoric, of which Fénelon's *Dialogues on Eloquence* (1679) are a distinguished French example.

Father Ong's argument, as my summary of it indicated, left rhetoric muted and silent as a result of Ramus's reform. Father Ong states that oral delivery was allowed by Ramus to perish of neglect,

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[7] *Inventory*, pp. 534-538.

and that in general "a curious subconscious hostility to speech in all its forms will eat away at the post-Ramist age, bringing Thomas Sprat to fear for the members of the Royal Academy that 'the whole spirit and vigour of their *Design* . . . had been soon eaten out, by the luxury and redundance of *speech* . . . .' "[8] "Only after the Hegelian rehabilitation of the notion of dialogue and the later discrediting of the Newtonian universe," adds Father Ong, "would this hostility begin effectively to wane."

But actually if there was a decline in emphasis upon oral delivery in Ramist rhetoric, in line with the general shift "from early discourse-knowledge to observation-knowledge,"[9] that decline was limited to rhetorical theory, as opposed to classroom practice, and it was halted long before Hegel. One evidence of the latter fact is the publication at Paris in 1620 of Louis Crésol's *Vacationes Autumnales sive De Perfecta Oratoris Actione et Pronunciatione Libri III*, a massive compilation of all the doctrine of the ancients on the subject of voice and gesture in oratory. And after Crésol came Michel Le Faucheur's *Traitté de l'action de l'orateur, ou de la Pronunciation et du Geste* (1657), and still later the whole elocutionary movement of the eighteenth century, in which rhetoric stripped herself of all her classical procedures except those of sound and physical action, and the shift from the auditory to the visual was completely reversed, as far as rhetoric was concerned. It is hard to see how Ramist rhetoric could have caused oral delivery to perish of neglect, if even before the end of the Ramist era oral delivery suddenly begins to have more importance than it had ever enjoyed in the great classical rhetorics of Greece and Rome.

Prantl and others have called Ramist logic a "rhetoric-logic." Father Ong notices this strange terminology, but he does not seem concerned to correct it.[10] In fact, on several occasions he falls into similar terminology himself.[11] In actuality, Ramist logic is a dialectical logic. It organizes logical and dialectical doctrines around the concepts of invention and judgment (or disposition), as Aristotle's *Topics* had done. The fact that Aristotle organized his *Rhetoric* around the concepts of invention, delivery, style, and disposition means simply that to him rhetoric and dialectic were related arts, the former being the counterpart of the latter, as he says in the famous first sentence of the *Rhetoric*. In his view the basic difference between the two arts is that rhetoric theorizes upon the nature of discourse addressed to the popular, untrained audience, whereas dialectic is more usually but not exclusively applied to the learned world of the seminar and academic assembly. As a result of this distinction, the procedures of invention and disposition in classical dialectic differ markedly from the parallel procedures in classical rhetoric. If Ramus had written a rhetorical logic, he would have had to transfer into his doctrine the inventional and organizational features of ancient rhetoric. Thus he would have had to make use of the *status* system, so conspicuous in the inventional theory of Ciceronian rhetoric, and under the concept of disposition he would have had to speak of the six parts of the classical oration. Of course he did neither of these things. He dealt with logical invention and disposition in terms of the dialectical tradition that

[8] *Ramus Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 291. See also p. 281.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 35, 105-106, 112, 115.

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was nourished by Aristotle's *Topics* and Cicero's *Topics*. Those who call his logic rhetorical are using the term rhetoric without regard for its history and without a close examination of the philosophical implications of their stand.

Two or three other exceptions to less important statements in Father Ong's work should be noted. He indicates on several occasions that Boethius is responsible for the mistake involved in defining the enthymeme as a syllogism with one of its propositions omitted.[12] Actually that definition of the enthymeme is much older than Boethius; it can be found, for example, in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (5.10.3; 5.14.2). Again, in mentioning Gabriel Harvey's role in launching a native British Ramism, Father Ong remarks that "it has not been sufficiently noted that Ramism makes its first appearance in England under specifically rhetorical auspices—which is to say that it is inserted in the curriculum at a level somewhat below that of logic or philosophy."[13] In fact, however, Harvey's advocacy of Ramism at Cambridge in 1575 was preceded by the appearance of MacIlmaine's two books on Ramus's logic, one a Latin text and the other an English translation, both published in 1574. Thus a Scot from St. Andrews is a better candidate than Harvey for the honor of introducing Ramism into England. But in all probability MacIlmaine is not as good a candidate for this honor as Laurence Chaderton of Christ's College, Cambridge. Anyway, neither of them can be said to have introduced Ramism under rhetorical auspices.[14] Finally, in referring to Charles Butler, Oxford's most active Ramist, Father Ong acknowledges his fame as author of a textbook in rhetoric but declares that he "did not treat even the logic which came next above rhetoric in the curriculum."[15] Butler's case is admittedly peculiar; but he did give an account of Ramist invention in his *Oratoriae Libri Duo,* published in 1629, and thus associated himself somewhat loosely with the Ramist logical tradition, professing at the same time to be a great admirer of Ramus's reform of the arts.[16]

Despite these criticisms, Father Ong's two books on Ramus are to be recommended with enthusiasm. He has put the study of Ramism on a new and advantageous footing. His *Inventory* is unlikely ever to be superseded or for that matter equalled. His other book is always learned, always provocative, and never unhelpful, even when it invites some disagreement on the part of the reader. I was convinced when I had finished it that all Renaissance scholars in any subject would regard it as an event of the first importance in the advancement of their own studies and in the cause of sound learning in general.

BOOKS REVIEWED

RAMUS AND TALON INVENTORY A SHORT-TITLE INVENTORY OF THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF PETER RAMUS (1515-1572) AND OF OMER TALON (*ca.* 1510-1562) IN THEIR ORIGINAL AND IN THEIR VARIOUSLY ALTERED FORMS WITH RELATED MATERIAL: 1. THE RAMIST CONTROVERSIES: A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE 2. AGRICOLA CHECK LIST: A SHORT-TITLE INVENTORY OF SOME PRINTED EDITIONS AND PRINTED COMPENDIA OF RUDOLPH AGRICOLA'S *DIALECTICAL INVENTION (DE INVENTIONE DIALECTICA)*. By Walter J. Ong, S.J. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958. pp. x+558. $10.00.

RAMUS METHOD, AND THE DECAY OF DIALOGUE FROM THE ART OF DISCOURSE TO THE ART OF REASON. By Walter J. Ong, S.J. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958. pp. xx+408. $10.00.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 187, 217.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 303.
[14] For details, see my *Logic and Rhetoric in England: 1500-1700*, pp. 178-179.
[15] *Ramus Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 303.
[16] For details, see my *Logic and Rhetoric in England: 1500-1700*, pp. 266-268.

COUNTERPOINT: KENNETH BURKE AND ARISTOTLE'S THEORIES OF RHETORIC. By L. Virginia Holland. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959; pp. xv+128. $3.75.

Despite the indebtedness of much contemporary criticism to the work of Kenneth Burke, nothing even approaching a definitive study of his theories has yet appeared. The assessment of a contemporary is always precarious, and when the contemporary is as discursive and audacious as Burke, the assessment is likely to shade off into polemic very quickly. That is why the idea behind Miss Holland's book has at least a superficial merit: interpret Burke's rhetorical theory in terms of Aristotle's, and one can view the current ideas from the serene perspective of antiquity. It is an attractive notion, but it does not work.

Miss Holland's book consists of four chapters constituting an exegesis of Burke's ideas on rhetoric, and four more chapters whose purpose is "to investigate the Aristotelianism in Kenneth Burke's rhetorical theory." The exegesis of Burke is clearly the more successful and valuable part of the book, and encompasses over half its length. Beginning with a chapter on "Some Basic Assumptions of Kenneth Burke: Critic and Rhetorician," the exegesis gathers strength as it proceeds to a more specific focus on Burke's rhetorical ideas. These first four chapters are a relatively lucid compendium of Burke's concepts, and commend themselves to students of rhetoric. The last four chapters, wherein Burke's ideas are set beside Aristotle's, are less successful.

One difficulty is that the second party to the comparison is inadequately explicated. A systematic exegesis of the *Rhetoric*, a *clear* disclosure of its leading ideas and its logical foundation, is itself a formidable task not yet accomplished for our time; but such a disclosure is prerequisite to the charge which Miss Holland has set herself. This study presents too cursory, over-simplified, and fragmentary a version of the *Rhetoric*, failing to distinguish between what is essentially and characteristically Aristotelian and what belongs to a more generic intellectual tradition which antedates and subsumes Aristotle. The result is that not all the book's conclusions on the similarity between Aristotle and Burke are convincing. One is left with the impression that Burke has been respectfully served, but that Aristotle has sometimes been trimmed to measure.

Aristotle has had such an enormous influence on subsequent eras that some of his views have become integral with the intellectual *modus operandi* of the West. His attitudes lurk behind any serious thinker as material for action or reaction, and certain of his ideas are no longer isolable from the general culture in which a contemporary will perforce write. This fact lends some truth to the author's conclusion "that Kenneth Burke's rhetorical theory is grounded in the doctrines of Aristotle," and that "there is nothing in Burke's rhetorical theory which is not implicit in Aristotle," but it is the same kind of truth which finds atomic physics "implicit" in Democritus, or the latest stock market fluctuation "implicit" in the Revised Standard Version. "Implicit" here seems to mean no more than "non-contradictory," but surely "incommensurable" would be the more fitting term. Aristotle lived in a different time and society from Burke's, studied different phenomena than Burke, applied a vocabulary different from Burke's, and proceeded from a moral and political frame of reference different from Burke's. Such divergences are eluded by an adherence to the selected letter of the texts of Aristotle and Burke, but the spirit of the texts undermines Miss Holland's conclusions.

Finally, the attempt to assess Burke in terms of Aristotle produces an excess of authorial self-effacement, which squeezes the vigor out of Miss Holland's style. In approaching one thinker with the apparatus of another, the author has closed herself out of her own book. Even the chapters explicating Burke tend to summary reportage, without the ordering and apportioning of ideas that an uninhibited judgment would provide. While this refusal of the author to intrude into her book may reinforce the study's objectivity, it has the lamentable consequence of leaving the reader in the hands of two of the most bewildering writers of their respective times.

EDWIN BLACK
Washington University

PERSUASION: HOW OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES ARE CHANGED. By Herbert I. Abelson. New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1959; pp. x+118. $3.75.

The purposes of Abelson's book are revealed in the preface. "In this book the factors and facets of persuasion are presented in order, and the evidence introduced here has been collected by methods acceptable to the social sciences." The book has eight chapters plus a bibliography and index. The early chapters (1

through 5) present a series of propositions about persuasion. The author follows each proposition with a brief interpretation of the findings of selected studies which in his opinion support the proposition. Some illustrative propositions are: "Repeating a communication tends to prolong its influence;" "The individual's personality traits affect his susceptibility to persuasion;" "The more extreme the opinion change that the communicator asks for, the more actual change he is likely to get."

This reviewer is unimpressed with the adequacy of the content of the book for the achievement of the author's purposes. The selected "factors and facets of persuasion" are an unfortunate simplification of the subject. The author seems unaware of available scholarly systematic treatments of persuasion. There is no apparent justification of the order in which the materials are presented. Little evidence is actually presented. Instead, the writer presents snatches of evidence with his interpretations from the sources cited. Other books have been more thorough in their presentation of evidence from the research studies of the field. Whereas the original studies may have been done by "methods acceptable to the social sciences," responsible research students of these sciences may be disturbed by the inadequacy of the evidence, inferences, and interpretations drawn from them. The author charges in his preface that other books ". . . do not systematically weigh the factors responsible for the success or failure of attempts to persuade people." Awareness of this charge apparently has not protected his work against similar limitations.

FRANKLIN H. KNOWER
The Ohio State University

WORDS AND THINGS. By Roger Brown. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958; pp. xvi+398. $6.75.

When, in 1956, the Harvard Cognition Project issued its study of thinking (Jerome S. Bruner, Jacqueline J. Goodnow, and George A. Austin, *A Study of Thinking* [New York, 1956], see p. 247 *et. seq.*), there was some surprise at its integral 65-page Appendix, "Language and Categories," by M.I.T. social psychologist Roger Brown. Yet this was reasonable enough. Increasingly, language and structural linguistics are being seen by behavioral scientists as germane (and, in some instances, pivotal) to their own work. The problem of thought is, in a sense, a question of determining its morphology (or grammar) and possibly determining whether linguistic grammar is a kind of template for thought, and then for cerebral function.

The mind-body duality is defunct. Language now seems to many to be the mediating agent in ascertaining human *ecology*, in which the organism's creative, structured, diversified, complex, imaginative productivity interacts with the total *exterior*. The old days of a comparatively simple "psychology of speech" are decisively over. As they were nearly the most ancient study, so today speech and language are the newest frontier.

Professor Brown's book is an admirable introduction to and synthesis of this formidable, marvelous, and enticing jungle. It brings together materials from widely separate places fairly and impartially, and presents them in a lucid Donizettian English which is a pleasure to read.

Words and Things is not by itself a text, though no course in this area can ignore it henceforth. Nor is it a "popularization," though it will be clear and delectable reading for those without any specialist interest, since it will stimulate them vigorously. Specialists will find it familiar yet useful.

Professor Brown starts with a metalanguage of categorization (drawn from the aforementioned Harvard studies) and then applies it to a number of old and new problems of language: speech-analysis; reading and writing; semantic; animal languages; language-learning; Whorfianism and language-and-thought; pathology; and persuasion, expression, and propaganda.

This thoroughness is, in some measure, a fault. The data for feral man, for instance, are so weak that despite a fascinating discussion, little more than fun can emerge, which is *not* true of animal communication.

Similarly, persuasion and propaganda have been done well in numerous speech and "writing" books. While Brown is interested in demonstrating the utility of his metalanguage, I found this somewhat irrelevant to the main discussion.

These have taken space from the discussion of pathologies—aphasia and schizophrenia only—which could have been fruitfully extended. This section does not discuss the language of neurosis and psychotherapy (which is relegated to brief mention in the chapter on expression) though it would have been illuminating here and the data are rich, if fearsomely subjective.

On the other hand, "Phonetic Symbolism and

Metaphor" (though one might take issue with some of its conclusions) is stimulating, particularly where dealing with the development of new clusters and forms which elaborate the generative nature of language. And, if discursive, "The History of Writing and a Dispute About Reading" is calm, sane, and sensible in an area notable for passion.

"The Original Word Game" is a superior treatment of the problems and nature of language-learning. The thinness of the earlier part of the chapter testifies to how little we know factually of child language-learning. I should think, though, that there are enough stimulating analogies to the child's transition from item-learning to analogical-learning to support more warmly both Jakobson's and Piaget's schematizations.

In all of this, Brown is a clear, neat, and unfailingly delightful companion. Being a practical psychologist, he provides succinct chapter summaries and a precisely-expressed conclusion of his own views.

The reviewer's task is easy. Objections to misplaced emphasis or manner of treatment in a synthesizing book are inevitable. No reviewer is entirely happy unless it's written *his* way. But a general recommendation of *Words and Things* is unequivocal. Part of its virtue is its provocativeness.

There remain some implications. Brown's metalanguage derives from the meeting between descriptive linguists and psychologists. Of course, sociology and physiology become engaged. The psychological and linguistic assumptions are that a language is the sum of the way (the "behavior") in which native speakers use it. There are then, as well, social correlates, the choices based on social and internal criteria (the ecology once more) which affect the speaker's manipulation or invention of his speech-tokens; and the aesthetic elements—the musical factors and the "retained" structure of the total extended utterance—which are in some measure socially induced and controlled by factors of codability. These feed back into the fundamentals of the language itself and generate different patterns in the native speaker's resources. (Compare, for instance, without estimating subsequent possible changes, the preferences for aureate as against spare rhetorics in different languages. For that matter, compare American with British book reviews.)

The social factor needs consideration, not least since it is now inescapably apparent that one of the new international technologies is, willy-nilly, "applied linguistics." This involves not only familiar foreign-language and literacy programs but language policy-planning (as in Ghana) and forced language-development schemes (as in India, Afghanistan, and China *inter alios*).

I feel very strongly that the practicing speech teacher is in a superb position to provide fascinating and useful data here, if only he will attempt the appropriate research skills. Furthermore, after reading *Words and Things*, he may very much want to.

WILLIAM KAY ARCHER
Fairleigh Dickinson University

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF GROUPS. By John W. Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley. New York: John Wiley, 1959; pp. xiv+313. $7.00.

The creation of systematic, mathematically-oriented theory in human relations is a lure which not many contemporary social scientists seem able to resist. It is the path, at best, to eminence; at least, to respectability. Publisher John Wiley has abetted this process by bringing out three such works during the past two years—Heider's *Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*, March and Simon's *Organizations*, and *The Social Psychology of Groups*. Although not advertised as a trilogy, these volumes are in fact remarkably parallel in format and neatly complement one another. The first deals primarily with the individual, the second with large social systems. Thibaut and Kelley fill the area between, devoting the first two-thirds of their book to an analysis of dyads—two-person relationships—and using the formulations there developed for the exposition of small group behavior which occupies their last five chapters.

How well Thibaut and Kelley have succeeded is difficult to assess. It is a product which would make the hair of our colleagues in the historical and belles-lettres traditions stand straight on end. But even for those of us without bias against the socio-psychological "sciences," evaluation poses a problem. As Fritz Heider says, "An approach can be spelled out clearly in operational and mathematical terms and still be sterile. . . . In the early stages of a science it is hard to measure the value of a contribution by explicit standards, perhaps as difficult as it is to measure artistic production."

I would, nevertheless, hazard the following evaluative comments. The validity of Thibaut

and Kelley's work rests on the premise that human relationships can be analyzed entirely in terms of "rewards" and "costs." Even granting the broadest meanings to these concepts (which is the sense in which they are intended) the resultant theory still suggests the "marketing orientation" toward human relationships which Erich Fromm, for one, has so vigorously questioned. One need not agree with Fromm's answer to wish that the authors had at least revealed an awareness of the *question*.

Perhaps because of the paucity of illustrative materials (with the notable exception of Chapter 10 on "Nonvoluntary Relationships"), perhaps because of the rarity with which this particular scheme of organizing common sense turns up new insights (again there are important exceptions, such as the notion that "in high cohesiveness both the ability to make demands and the ability to resist them are greater than in low cohesiveness," or that "norms provide a means of controlling behavior without entailing the costs . . . involved in the unrestrained *ad hoc* use of interpersonal power"), this book will have limited usefulness as either text or reference for those of us in applied social psychology. Whether it will have any widespread impact on experimentalists in search of hypotheses to test or on teachers of the "pure" social psychology of groups will depend, to use one of Thibaut and Kelley's own concepts, on "CL_{alt}"—or, in plain English, on whether the available alternative choices are any better.

FRANKLYN S. HAIMAN
Northwestern University

STRATEGIES OF LEADERSHIP: IN CONDUCTING ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS. By A. A. Liveright. New York: Harper, 1959; pp. xx+140. $3.50.

A. A. Liveright, Director of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, has written a volume which is interesting and helpful and at the same time vital and compact.

Although the material is especially directed toward lay leaders in the adult education movement, most of it is equally valuable to those participating in the movement as teachers or administrators. Several times it is stated that the book is intended for use in planning programs of an informal nature; it is my opinion, however, that those planning formal evening college programs will find much to stimulate their thinking and aid their organization in *Strategies of Leadership*.

The first part of the book deals with "Understanding Leadership and the Program" and includes considerations of types of leadership roles and varieties of leadership techniques matched to various programming situations and group types. Part I also is concerned with the dynamics of the adult learning situation and how and why different programs call for different leadership styles. "Improving Leadership and the Program" is the title of Part II, in which Mr. Liveright discusses the developing of appropriate leadership styles and program evaluation.

Seventeen tables are included; eleven describe some aspect of the content and six are designed to aid the reader in self-analysis, program analysis, and program planning.

The author's interpretation of the bearing of group cohesiveness on program goals and leadership methods impressed me as being especially worth considering when constructing adult speech programs. At times I thought the book intimated that leadership style must *always follow* the situation, and I was led to speculate on the author's attitude toward allowing the leadership style to *dictate and change* the situation.

Unfortunately a bibliography is not included in the book.

Mr. Liveright writes with clarity, incisiveness, and conviction. Here is a small book at a modest price that belongs in the library of all interested or involved in adult education enterprises.

FRANK E. X. DANCE
St. Joseph's College (Indiana)

STUTTERING: A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by Jon Eisenson. New York: Harper, 1958; pp. xxiv +402. $6.00.

The highly controversial field of stuttering has long provided ample room for vigorous discussion. This symposium brings the reader up-to-date on current points of view. Each of the six authorities presents and supports his theory.

Wendell Johnson, in his introduction, urges that we look through the confusions and complexities of terms to discover that there are two basic theories of stuttering: the "speech" theory that the speaker has some physical or psychical problem; the interaction theory that involves the perceptual and evaluational reactions of listener and speaker to whatever the stutterer does as he speaks.

Oliver Bloodstein's paper on "Stuttering as an Anticipatory Struggle Reaction" begins with

a review of Johnson's semantogenic approach but departs from it in the examination of the concept of nonfluency. Two factors coincide in stuttering onset; an unusual degree of nonfluency is present in an environment which is intolerant of nonfluency. The problem begins with the child. Because of pressure, overconcern, and high standards, he concludes that speech is difficult behavior. He therefore must exert himself; the anticipatory struggle reactions begin. These are judged adversely by parent-listeners who make their disapproval known; the child responds with more effort and physical tension, with the anticipation of further failure. The therapy must aim to eliminate the anticipation of stuttering and reduce the fear of its consequences.

The paper by I. Peter Galuber deals with "The Psychoanalysis of Stuttering." Stuttering is a pregenital conversion neurosis. The conflict lies between the wish to speak and the fear of speaking. If the individual speaks, the preverbal or mental speech will become audible, thus exposing his shameful conflicts. The stuttering is a total family disorder; the mother may precipitate the neurosis because she considers the child an extension of herself, seeks to maintain this oneness and fears separation; the father, too, may contribute. The child's stuttering represents an arrest in ego maturation. The therapy suggested is psychoanalysis or psychotherapy, one therapist working with the mother, another with the child. No direct speech therapy is given since the aim is to reach the primary causation of the symptoms, to normalize the family climate and to free each member for further ego maturation.

Joseph Sheehan writes on the "Conflict Theory of Stuttering," seeking to integrate the psychoanalytic and learning theories with modern personality theory. Since a theory must account for both momentary blocking as well as for the release from blocking, a double approach-avoidance conflict is basic. When the individual is about to speak, he is confronted with two alternatives, speech or silence, and both have positive and negative features. Speaking holds a promise of communication. The stutterer blocks when conflicting approach-avoidance tendencies reach an equilibrium; the stutter itself however, reduces the original fear sufficiently to permit a release of the blocked word. The primary symptoms are the basic reactions to conflict; the secondary represent compensatory efforts to overcome avoidance or may symbolize the speaker's attitudes toward his listeners. The fundamental goal of therapy is to eliminate all tendency to avoid. Therapy therefore integrates the practice of both psychotherapy and speech therapy.

Robert West writes on "An Agnostic's Speculation about Stuttering," believing that we still have not discovered the basic etiology. Whatever the theory held, certain facts must be explained. Stuttering develops in childhood; it is more prevalent among males, runs in families, particularly those in which left-handedness and twinning occur, is associated with late speech development and poor articulation, displays convulsive muscular spasms, and is increased by fear. Any theory must explain these facts. West believes that stuttering is probably organic, primarily an epileptic disorder whose spasms are precipitated by social anxieties arising in oral communication.

Jon Eisenson also proposes organic causation in his "Perseverative Theory of Stuttering," contending that the majority of stutterers are constitutionally inclined to perseverate to a greater extent than most speakers. This tendency has its etiology in the neurological makeup of the individual. The environmental pressures determine whether or not his constitutional perseveration and speaking will become associated. Stuttering begins when the individual cannot meet the demands of the speaking situation, when he must assume responsibility for communication and must continually modify his propositional speech to meet changes in the situation. It may be maintained because the behavior takes on values and meanings unrelated to the original etiology. A certain percentage of stuttering may be nonorganic; such symptoms can begin in imitation and continue because the stutter provides secondary gains. In the therapy, the organic stutterer must learn to accept himself, must weaken the nonorganic involvements surrounding the original perseveration, modify secondary symptoms, and adopt a manner of speaking consistent with his perseveration. The nonorganic stutterer needs psychotherapy.

In the last paper, Charles Van Riper writes on his "Experiments in Stuttering Therapy." He reaffirms his belief that stuttering has multiple origins, and then recounts his experiences in working with stutterers from 1936 to 1957. He varied his theraputic methods from year to year, kept records, and instituted a follow-up program. The aim of his therapy has always been to cut down the stuttering manifestations to their original momentary muscular

blocking and thereby make speech adequate for communication. At the end of the paper, an outline of tested activities is presented under these headings: desensitization, nonreinforcement, ego building, voluntary control, self-understanding, and fluent stuttering.

To those who work in this area, this book will be highly stimulating, even though, as Van Riper says, "The will-o'-the-wisp still dances out of reach." The outsider will be puzzled and disappointed over what looks like lack of agreement and finality. For the initiated, one can only conclude from the examination of this symposium that the study of stuttering maintains its healthy exploration. Stuttering, for these men and many others, is still dramatic and challenging.

ELISE HAHN
University of California, Los Angeles

EARLY ENGLISH STAGES. VOLUME ONE 1300 TO 1576. By Glynne Wickham. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; pp. xliv+428. $7.50.

We have a fairly clear notion of what the medieval stage looked like, and we have an idea, however incomplete, of the Elizabethan and Jacobean stages. But these stages did not just materialize out of thin air like the Cheshire Cat; they were the result of the influence of other, earlier stages. But what influences? Can we, for example, draw a direct line of influence from the stage of, say, Arnould Greben to that of Shakespeare? Theatre historians have failed to argue the connection cogently. But, Mr. Wickham seems to say, there are elements, not necessarily those of theatrical *mise en scène*, which, when properly viewed, do much to make the development of the later stages dependent upon the earlier stages. Wickham wants us to see the whole panorama of medieval entertainment, not just the theatre; he wants us to stand on some high vantage point in order to see how the diverse architectural and processional elements of medieval entertainments flowed into a main stream which, after much meandering, finally coursed through Stratford and thence to Bankside, London. In the author's own meandering words, his volume attempts "to show that the public theatres of the Elizabethan era and their stagecraft were formal organizations for the convenience of professional actors of the heterogeneous scenic units developed over the preceding three centuries" (xxix).

Although the scholarship is sound, Wickham is at times astonishingly naïve. He says of the well-known and important *Mystère des Trois Doms* that it is "unknown to French theatre historians"; and he joggles the highly explosive subject of medieval iconography and the theatre with almost foolish abandon. But if this book is a failure, and I am inclined to think that it is, the blame is not entirely Wickham's. He set out to do what had not been done before, and what he attempted he did successfully. If this is a paradox it is not a rare one. Those who have read George Kernodle's *From Art to Theatre* will perhaps know just what I am talking about. Kernodle's book is undoubtedly a masterpiece, a brilliant work, scholarly in every good sense of that word. But after one recovers from Kernodle's staggering erudition, one must ask finally, as we do with Wickham's book: Yes, but what does all this have to do with the theatre?

The theatre is a difficult and slippery subject to study. If one studies theatrical history with a narrow and set point of view, the work is apt to be pedantic and dull. But if one goes to the other extreme, as Wickham has done, and seeks influences in all directions, in all arts, the theatre will slip away just as surely as a drop of quicksilver. Thus, when Wickham talks about the influence of jousting and processions and entries on the theatre, he ceases to talk about the theatre; he is talking about jousting and processions and entries, and however much he may protest to the contrary, the history of the theatre he claims to be studying eludes him.

But *Early English Stages* is merely the first volume of a proposed two-volume work, and final judgment must be withheld until the second volume appears. This volume is, to use an army term, a dry run. The real thing in this case, for which all theatre historians await eagerly, is Wickham's treatment of the Elizabethan theatres. Then he will be on the firing line.

ALBERT B. WEINER
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

THEATRE U.S.A.: 1668 TO 1957. By Barnard Hewitt. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959; pp. xii+528. $7.50.

In *Theatre U.S.A.: 1668 to 1957*, one of the academic theatre's top scholars, Barnard Hewitt, adds his name to the growing list of men who have attempted to supply a satisfactory survey of professional theatre in the United States. No man will succeed totally in this endeavor;

the manifold demands which professors make upon any would-be text prevent even such a distinguished man as Mr. Hewitt from satisfying them completely with his efforts.

But *Theatre U.S.A.* comes closer to attaining success than its predecessors in the field, because its author was intelligent enough to enter the lists on his own terms. He states his purpose clearly:

> It aims to tell the story of our theatre primarily through contemporary accounts and to interpret that story by commentary which places and amplifies the eyewitness accounts and picks out patterns of change in the drama, acting, scenery, lighting, costuming, theatre building, audience, organization, and operation. It is not a chronological history, or annals; it does not aim to include mention of all the plays, persons, and theatres which have played a part in nearly three and a half centuries of theatre in this country.

Mr. Hewitt has remained true to his organization and has accomplished his objective.

The most fruitful contribution of this work seems to stem directly from the concept of organization. The reader is constantly aware of theatre as a living entity and not merely a series of collected facts upon a page. The plays, actors, audiences, and the standards of the varying periods come to life through the judicious selection of quotations which reveal the problems of theatre as seen by those living with them. The feeling for theatre which is thereby recreated makes *Theatre U.S.A.* an excellent possibility for selection as a text. The professor may readily utilize the feeling and interest in theatre which the text generates in the reader as a base from which to expand to a more detailed and intensive penetration into the various periods. The appeal of this book for the general reader should be quite strong.

Even with Mr. Hewitt's seemingly arbitrary approach to his topic, the reader will find that the major names, plays, changes in tastes, in staging, in acting, and in concepts of theatre have definitely been touched upon. He may feel disappointed at the terseness of the commentary on occasions, but in most instances further elaboration may be pursued either through the "For Further Reading" suggestions which are appended or in any reasonably well-stocked library. This reviewer wishes that Mr. Hewitt had gone one step beyond the standard volumes suggested for further reading and taken cognizance of the considerable amount of doctoral research done in the field of American drama and theatre in the past decade. Such references might have been particularly helpful in bolstering what to this reviewer was the book's weakest moment—the depiction of the mushroom growth, diversity, and complexity of the theatre outside of New York between *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the appearance of the Theatrical Syndicate.

Theatre U.S.A.: 1668 to 1957 is the best answer to date for a general text in the area of American theatre history. The publishers are also to be congratulated for producing such a handsome volume.

WILLIAM R. REARDON
State University of Iowa

TEN TALENTS IN THE AMERICAN THEATRE. Edited, with an Introduction, by David H. Stevens. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957; pp. x+299. $4.00.

Editor Stevens has here assembled autobiographical essays by ten famous American theatre artists. His purpose was to create a testimonial to the past and an inspiration for the idea of a future great national theatre in America. And these success stories are indeed inspirational, in the best sense of the word. Robert E. Gard, Paul Baker, Alan Schneider, Margo Jones, Frederic McConnell, Barclay Leathem, Gilmor Brown, Leslie Cheek, Jr., George C. Izenour, and Paul Green have each contributed sizable career résumés to the collection.

No attempt was made by the editor to force these diverse materials into a coherent argument or to illustrate a pet theory of his own. He has grouped the essays rather arbitrarily into three sections. But that does not matter. The contributors speak directly, simply, and powerfully for themselves, of their lives in the theatre, educational, community, and professional.

Similarities do emerge. All love the theatre. That may seem a commonplace, but these artists love the theatre with an uncommon enthusiasm. Here is no cynicism, no fatigue. Their idealism sets the elevated tone of the whole book.

Almost to a man they have been much concerned with the writing and production of new plays. Their faith in this work is high. They are experimentalists. Most have helped develop non-proscenium, open stage theatres, whether arena, platform in the three-quarter round, or flexible.

Space prohibits commenting even briefly on

all of the essays. All contain stimulating ideas. Generally speaking the professional writers in the group come off most memorably; the editor has wisely saved Paul Green's story of the outdoor "symphonic drama" for a climatic position at the end. But you should also be stirred by Robert Gard's near spiritual purpose of developing the inner life of our people through the arts; Alan Schneider's tribute to Lee Strasberg as a theorist and teacher of acting; the late Margo Jones' glorious optimism; and George Izenour's plea for the wedding of art and science in our theatre.

Freewheeling materials these; but how good to have these personal statements of progress. Just see what some of our national theatre pioneers have done!

JACK CLAY
University of Miami

IRONY IN THE DRAMA. By Robert Boies Sharpe. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959; pp. xv+222. $5.00.

This book's purpose, says the author, is not "to exhort playwrights, but to assist myself in the teaching and others in the appreciation of plays." Insofar as playwrights ought to be students of dramatic criticism, the denied objective may be the most fruitful. The most telling sections are those in which the author evaluates modern dramatists, in which he applies his theory of dramatic irony to playwriting techniques.

Professor Sharpe's theory seems to be this: At the center of any "real" drama is irony. This irony is projected to an audience through the actor's impersonation. An actor "in character" on stage is ironical to start with, for the audience is aware that he is both actor *and* character at the same time. As the character becomes farther removed from the actor's person, it becomes more ironical. The playwright enhances irony by convolution of impersonation, by giving him one or more disguises, by introducing hypocrisy, by flashbacks, and other devices. These techniques abet irony by giving audiences insight into the characters that the characters themselves cannot experience.

The theory may appear superficial. If one impersonation within the original increases irony, an impersonation within an impersonation within an impersonation should be even more effective. But Professor Sharpe clearly and wisely notes that such compounded convolution throws too much emphasis on situation, that situational convolutions are valuable only as they add depth to impersonation. His illustrations show that his concept of "dramatic irony" is not arbitrary and exclusive, that it actually embraces and serves all forms of irony. A very satisfying section of the work is the explanation of irony as it relates to catharsis and shock (in both tragedy and comedy).

Professor Sharpe's style is a little ornate, but warmly and enthusiastically so. The plethora of illustrations (two-thirds of which are from Shakespeare) tends to be confusing. Sometimes the inferences derived therefrom are not always adequately examined in relation to the theme. So much emphasis on Shakespeare may make the treatise seem another in the long line of apologies for the Elizabethan, and there have been enough of these already.

However, the book reveals Sharpe's understanding of production and acting, as well as dramatic literature and theory. This is most welcome. It represents the mature thinking of a successful teacher and scholar. Would that there were more such experience-based writing beyond the beginning textbook level.

ORDEAN G. NESS
University of Wisconsin

JEAN GIRAUDOUX: HIS LIFE AND WORKS. By Laurent Le Sage. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1959; pp. 238. $5.00.

Laurent Le Sage's expedition into the life and work of Jean Giraudoux is precise, carefully documented, jejune—in short, scholarly. As long, indeed, as the mentors of university presses allow such sluggishness to cross their desks, scholarhip will forever be equated with dullness and readers limited to those heroic few who, as in the present example, may lip-read their way through verbal underbrush, hopefully to cry, "M. Giraudoux, I presume?" The Giraudoux mind and manner remain largely inexplicable to the American reader and theatregoer; revelation is in order. But in *Jean Giraudoux: His Life and Works,* little is at hand. Le Sage's trail is cluttered with difficulty. For one thing, he insists on presenting the reader with a string of untranslated quotes from the Giraudoux pen. These are helpful, perhaps, as morsels of style—apt reminders that Le Sage has thoroughly covered the territory—but the effect is to leave the reader wondering why the author bothered to write in English at all. If one must quote so often and at such

length, better to translate, however ineptly, so that the reader will not be constantly forced to change, if not to strip, his linguistic gears. French languishes well in footnotes.

But such a quarrel may, after all, be nothing more than an anti-intellectual quibble. If the reader is well-accoutered *en francais*, Le Sage's linkage of quote on quote should present no real barrier. The student of Giraudoux may even appreciate this mass of material which, if more succinctly organized, could well prove to be, as the dust jacket proclaims, a "comprehensive" treatment of the French author. Unfortunately, Le Sage approaches Giraudoux's life and work as separate departments with consequent, and often bewildering, cross-pollination: the work is used to draw conclusions about the life and the life about the work. At best this is a dangerous, if not downright unfashionable, critical procedure. Yet Le Sage is at his best in his reading of Giraudoux's literary effort. The reader will with profit compare these conclusions with his own after reading Giraudoux—particularly in the somewhat misleading translations. One regrets, however, that Le Sage failed to clothe Giraudoux, the man, in more than the skin and bones of jobs procured, trips made, impressions gained; there is little viscera here. But perhaps we have been spoiled by popular biography and should spend more time reading DAB articles.

DAVID WILEY
Longwood College

THE NATURE OF DRAMA. By Hubert Heffner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959; pp. 339-662. Paper $2.00.

HOW DOES A POEM MEAN? By John Ciardi. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959; pp. 663-1022. Paper $2.00.

These texts, part of a four-volume Introduction to Literature series which also includes *Reading the Short Story*, by Herbert Barrows, and *The Character of Prose*, by Wallace Douglas, share a common purpose: to inform and interest the beginning student of literature. Each contributor, however, according to the general editor, Gordon N. Ray, was given free rein to organize his own book in his own way, without having to submit to a rigid advance plan. Thus the student who buys the modestly priced complete set will get double value; he will experience various forms of literature, and the various expository methods of four excellent teachers.

Professor Heffner's approach to drama is direct and clear. A calm authority marks his brilliantly compact introduction to *The Nature of Drama*, with its humanistic credo that "[Drama] provides us with no less than a universal picture of the nature of man, individual man and social man, ludicrous man and noble man, good man and evil man." Here in a dozen pages he describes exactly what drama is, what it seeks to do, and what Aristotle meant by the divisions of plot, character, thought, diction, music, and spectacle. Equally cogent are the short prefaces to the six modern plays included: *The Wild Duck*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *Candida*, *The Cherry Orchard*, *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, and *Juno and the Paycock*. Heffner retains the usual textbook convention of listing questions to the student after each of the plays. They are models of what questions should be; they actually excite the reader to think of answers.

John Ciardi's piquant title, *How Does a Poem Mean?*, leads us to his passionately defended thesis that there is a good deal more to comprehending a poem than simply paraphrasing it in order to sum up *what* it means. Ciardi would have the student analyze poetic themes, language, tone and attitude, imagery, pace and variety, to the end that he may appreciate, moreover "re-live" the poem as a total aesthetic experience.

But this is itself paraphrase, and does the book scant justice. Ciardi's amiable method is to ramble along, throwing out provocative phrases, drawing on an immense reservoir of scholarship and practical experience to illustrate and support what he believes. *How Does a Poem Mean?* can best be described as generous, not only because it contains more than 200 carefully selected poems, but primarily because the author is himself so liberal and enthusiastic a guide.

Heffner on drama and Ciardi on poetry are worth attention. One can predict that *The Nature of Drama* will be widely adopted for introductory theatre courses, and that *How Does a Poem Mean?* will prove invaluable for all serious oral interpreters.

JONATHAN W. CURVIN
University of Wisconsin

FOREIGN DIALECTS: A MANUAL FOR ACTORS, DIRECTORS, AND WRITERS. By Lewis and Marguerite Shalett Herman. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1959; pp. 415. $8.50.

AMERICAN DIALECTS: A MANUAL FOR ACTORS, DIRECTORS, AND WRITERS. By Lewis and Marguerite Shalett Herman. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1959; pp. xv+328. $6.50.

A director and his actors may frequently find dialect a perplexing part of characterization. When the dialect must be mastered to make a character's expression of thought and feeling seem appropriate and believable, the problem is crucial. In such a situation, an actor may depend upon inspiration and a "good ear" to achieve a dialect; or he may imitate the precise dialect pattern of an individual (Garson Kanin thus learned a Swedish dialect—with a lisp.) Either method may work. But a more systematic and objective way is to study the general principles and the special characteristics of a particular dialect. For such an approach, two recently reprinted manuals by Lewis and Marguerite Herman, *Foreign Dialects* and *American Dialects*, may be useful.

Foreign Dialects resembles the 1943 edition except that the authors have removed all bibliographies and have added a detachable card containing their code of phonetic symbols and the corresponding I.P.A. symbols. The first chapter in *Foreign Dialects* describes how to use the manual; the next chapter considers "Dialect Characterization." Thereafter, thirty-two foreign dialects, including variants of major dialects, are treated. In most instances, the authors briefly discuss, in a general way, "the psychological make-up of the national character of the people on whose native speech the dialect is based." Then they focus chiefly on details regarding vowel and consonant changes, giving lesser attention to such matters as "lilt," "emphasis," and "grammar changes." When necessary, special details such as the glottal stop in the Scottish dialect, are considered. Diverse exercises in which the authors' easily-mastered phonetic symbols are used provide a wide range of practice materials. The Hermans' phonetic analyses of foreign dialects spoken in America are based on their own middlewestern speech.

Essentially the same plan of organization is used in *American Dialects*. The purpose of this manual is "to teach the regional American dialects to actors." No changes have been made in this reprint of the 1947 edition. The Hermans discuss the following major dialects: New England, Southern, Louisiana-French, Mountain, Negro, New York City, Pennsylvania-Dutch, Middle Western. In addition, they consider nine dialect variants. This book includes a bibliography which has not been brought up-to-date and hence fails to list recent excellent investigations of the American language by expert phoneticians.

Although *Foreign Dialects* and *American Dialects* are somewhat impaired by frequent generalization and oversimplification, nevertheless they are competent, practical companions for the director and his actors to take along on their search for the secret springs of particular dialects.

DAVID S. HAWES
Indiana University

BRIEFLY NOTED

A READER'S GUIDE TO WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS. By John Unterecker. New York: Noonday Press, 1959; pp. 310. Paper $1.65, cloth $4.50.

No one need lack a guidebook in touring the landscape of modern poetry. And indeed it is not a landscape which can be viewed satisfactorily while running. John Unterecker's *A Reader's Guide to William Butler Yeats* is in the words of William York Tyndall "both entertaining and informative." It is directly helpful to teacher and student alike, providing the kind of collateral aid a student of Yeats must surely have. It discusses Yeats' major themes, relating them to the poet's personal life, and then moves into the poems themselves, identifying symbols, references, parallels. It frequently paraphrases and elucidates poems in detail. It contains a useful chronology and a highly selective bibliography. It is well indexed.

One must welcome such aids as this, even while longing perhaps for poetry which may be viewed without a guided tour. As a secretary-interpreter for Yeats, Mr. Unterecker is both brisk and intelligent in handling those who come to see Yeats.

WALLACE A. BACON
Northwestern University

LEARNING FROM FILMS. By Mark A. May and Arthur A. Lumsdaine in collaboration with R. S. Hadsell *et. al.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958; pp. xiv+357. $5.00.

This book first came to my attention about a year ago, when a member of the staff of the British Film Institute asked me (as an American presumably inured to educational jargon) to read it and to render its findings into in-

telligible English. After what I considered a valiant effort, I confessed myself unequal to the task.

As a reviewer, I have tried even more conscientiously to discover just what problems the authors sought to solve, the methodologies they employed, and the findings they have recorded. My considered opinion is still that each chapter sounds like an inept graduate student's first grappling with "research." Problems are never clear-cut; basic assumptions often seem to be as moot as the hypotheses to be tested; methodologies are obscure; reports of findings read like a cruel but hilarious parody of "pedaguese."

In short, except for the reputation of the Yale University Press and the current exorbitant costs of publication, I would suspect *Learning from Films* of being a gigantic spoof.

HENRY L. MUELLER
University of Illinois

ATTITUDES TOWARD HISTORY. By Kenneth Burke. (Revised Edition.) Los Altos, California: Hermes Publications, 1959; pp. xvi+375. $6.75.

Originally published in 1937 in two volumes, this new edition appears in one volume, with a new introduction, an "afterword," and an appendix. The basic concern of the first edition, as of this new edition, was with "characteristic responses of people in their forming and reforming of congregations." The provocative new appendix reflects a search for the "basic offices" that people perform in their relationships to one another. Aristotle's *Politics*, Plato's *Republic*, and Cicero's *De Officiis* suggest Burke's "Neo-Stoic" view for a terminology of motives. Seven overall categories result: Govern, serve, defend, teach, entertain, cure, and pontificate, that is, minister in terms of a "beyond."

MARIE HOCHMUTH
University of Illinois

STORYTELLING. By Laura S. Emerson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1959; pp. viii+181. $3.50.

This book on storytelling is an outgrowth of many years of experience with students in colleges, youth camps, and religious organizations. Designed for the elementary classroom teacher, it provides fifteen typical stories to tell and suggestions for discussion, collateral reading, and class projects. The author aids the story teller in acquiring an appreciation for the artistic and ethical values of a good story; she discusses how to prepare stories for oral presentation and how to develop an individual charm in the telling. Included also is a chapter on storytelling and broadcasting.

All those who are seeking to prepare themselves to teach in public schools, work in the field of religious education, or become the kind of parents who can contribute significantly to the growth of the child through storytelling will find Miss Emerson's book rich and resourceful.

CARRIE RASMUSSEN
University of Wisconsin

PROJECTS IN ORAL INTERPRETATION. By Gladys E. Lynch and Harold C. Crain. New York: Henry Holt, 1959; pp. xvi+320. $4.00.

Projects in Oral Interpretation is exceptionally well-organized around nine projects (Assimilation, Analysis, Physical Expressiveness, Voice Improvement, Improving Articulation, Control of Articulation, Control of Voice, Emotional Control, Selecting and Arranging Material) divided into 46 units designed to develop specific skills.

Each unit includes an explanation of principles that is brief, clear, and authoritative; suggested exercises and assignments that are interesting, definite, and well-motivated; and an excellent bibliography for further study of theory in standard texts. Undoubtedly, additional reading (or lectures) on the forms of literature and literary analysis are desirable in a liberal arts course.

Strongly oriented toward voice improvement, the book contains many valuable exercises. The authors also stress "acting" or the reading of drama—particularly in the units on British and Irish Dialects and the project on Physical Expressiveness.

My most vivid impression is that teachers—experienced or inexperienced—and students studying to be teachers might learn a great deal about principles and methods of teaching oral interpretation and re-vitalize their courses through reading this book. I recommend it for that purpose and as a textbook to which teachers might refer their students for solving a specific problem—such as "Support of Tone."

ROBERT R. CROSBY
Ohio Wesleyan University

SHOP TALK

ROBERT L. SCOTT, *Editor*

THE NEW FACE BEHIND THE COUNTER

When a shop changes hands, the new proprietor is expected to pay not only for the equipment and merchandise but for the traditions and good will. Since in this case a rummage sale of the commodities would net nothing, the new Shop Talker must conserve the traditions and foster good will with exceeding care.

Having paid heavily in fear and trembling, ST^3 stepped gingerly into the forms established by his predecessors. With copies of ST^2's spirited requests for notes and comments before him, new ST composed one of his own, sent it to department chairmen, and awaited results nervously. The response from the well-conditioned customers was astonishing. The departmental secretary began to treat ST with ever increasing respect as day after day she sorted the mail and, lo, your servant's name led all the rest.

As he separated the items, however, ST thought wistfully of ST^1's notice on retirement, printed in a big black box, reminding contributors to submit one item per page of standard sized paper. But a slight capital investment brought a pair of sharp shears to the shop desk, and ST finds that snipping with them is such a fine release of tensions that he would prefer to have several items to a page.

Having built good will, ST must now risk it to report the observation of a serious condition developing in our profession; speech people are becoming apathetic and unvigilant. The sight of Shop Talk passing into new hands should have brought sharp questions concerning qualifications and stern warnings not to adulterate the product. But, pampered and content, readers throughout the country assumed that their leaders would take care of their interests and turned to bid goodbye to the old, "Hail and Farewell," without taking a hard look at the new.

For those few who objected: "Your predecessors were illustrious men. Who are you? What qualifies you to assume the initials 'ST'?" ST points to his obvious mark of merit—he is the only Shop Talker in history who has a middle name.

SHOP TALK SPEECH CONVENTION CALENDAR

National

Speech Association of America: The Jefferson, St. Louis, December 28-30 (1961, New York; 1962, Cleveland; 1963 [August], Denver).

American Educational Theatre Association: University of Denver, August 28-30; (1961, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, August 28-30; 1962, University of Minnesota, August 24-26; 1963, University of Oregon, August 26-28; 1964, University of Pittsburgh, August 27-29).

American Forensic Association: with SAA in St. Louis.

National Society for the Study of Communication: with SAA in St. Louis.

NUEA Committee on Discussion and Debate Materials: with SAA in St. Louis.

Regional

Central States: La Salle Hotel, Chicago, April 8-9.

Eastern States: Henry Hudson Hotel, New York, April 7-9.

Southern States: Hotel Robert E. Lee, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, April 3-8.

Western States: Oregon State College, Corvallis, November 24-26.

Related Organizations

American Association for Cleft Palate Rehabilitation: Brown Palace Hotel, Denver, May 12-14.

American Association of University Professors: Statler, Detroit, April 8-9.

Conventions

WSA. Believing that our field is filled with people curious about one another's activities, ST proposes to report the conventions of regional associations and related national organizations and shall try to discover cooperative reporters to assist in the task. A few have already stepped bravely forward.

Fearing that "SAA will never be aware of the existence, let alone the importance of the Western Speech Association with its 800 members," president-elect Larry Mouat sends along a fat envelope of materials describing the thirtieth annual convention held at Rickey's Studio Inn in Palo Alto, November 26-28, 1959. The picture on the program indicates that the conventioneers met in surroundings that fulfill the stereotype of a California resort. The sightseeing, entertainment, and "the glamour spots (including Beatnik land) of San Francisco, thirty miles away," may have made serious inroads upon attendance at sessions. Reporter Mouat is not specific on this point.

Thursday afternoon President Johnnye Akin gave the keynote address, and the oldest living past president, Lee Emerson Bassett, spoke briefly honoring the founding of WSA in 1929. That evening at the Thanksgiving Banquet, John T. Wahlquist, President of San Jose State College, spoke. Entertainment by puppeteers Tony Urbana and Darryl Ferreira ("internationally famous" the program assures) followed.

Recovering remarkably from presidents and puppeteers, the westerners had to choose among thirty-one section meetings during the next day and a half. The topics seem to indicate that the interests of speech people undergo no remarkable changes on the other side of the continental divide. Like the rest of us, they bother themselves about "The Fundamentals of Speech Course; Public Speaking or Potpourri," the frontiers of educational broadcasting, integrating the laboratory, clinic, and classroom, and on and on. Business meetings for the WSA as well as for the "cooperating organizations"—the California Speech and Hearing Association, the National Forensic League, and the National Society for the Study of Communication—undoubtedly left many who attended saying, "We must cut down next year."

Next year WSAers will spend Thanksgiving in Corvallis, Oregon, with Oregon State College as host. Thirtieth Convention co-hosts, Stanford and Palo Alto Public Schools, will be thankful to see someone else with the local arrangement headaches.

In closing, Western Correspondent Mouat reminds us that a sustaining membership in either WSA or the Southern Speech Association entitles one to the journals of both regions—only "one of the advantages" of such a membership.

ASHA. A friend recently wrote to ST, "These speech pathologists—what plutocrats. Off to a convention for a week with classes going full blast. That's the way to operate." Non-scientist ST listened with envy and awe to Ernie Henrikson, director of Minnesota's clinic, report on the activities at the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Speech and Hearing Association (Cleveland, Ohio, November 11-14, 1959). Under duress, colleague Henrikson put some of the long words and figures into writing.

With 2,150 in attendance, the association provided sixty-three section meetings, three general sessions, two business meetings, a dance, a luncheon, an almost continuous film theater, and continuous free coffee. That ASHA shelters a wide variety of interests is indicated by a sample of the section meeting titles: "Cinefluorography and Cineradiography as Technics in Research and Diagnosis"; "Theories Concerning Cortical Dysfunctioning"; "Stuttering: Case Presentation"; "Neurophysiology of Hearing"; "Articulation Testing"; "The Role of the Speech Therapist: A Public School Controversy."

Next November President Stanley Ainsworth, University of Georgia, will preside at the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention in Los Angeles. In the meantime he and his burgeoning association will struggle with the pleasant problems of co-ordinating the ever expanding interests of voice scientists, speech pathologists, and audiologists and making effective use of

funds for training and research made increasingly more available by governmental and private sources. From one point of view the shortage of qualified persons in the area is advantageous; as our informant pointed out, "Jobs are plentiful!"

PROGRAMS FOR BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY. Having been informed by several colleagues that the crowds one sees these days in the halls around speech departments are composed of representatives of business and industry eagerly seeking lectures, short courses, seminars, workshops, long courses, and general consultation, ST included a query concerning such endeavors in his call for news. The evidence so far gathered in support of the fascinating assertion that the Ivory Tower is in a state of seige is not overwhelming.

From Pennsylvania State University: "Jack Brilhart and William Simington have been spending week-ends in various cities in Pennsylvania training discussion leaders for the Center for Continuing Liberal Education. The CCLE is a Ford Foundation project." ST assumes that business leaders attend these sessions. Penn State also announces that Harold P. Zelko has published two booklets for distribution in business and industrial organizations: *How To Avoid Arguments* and *How To Be a Better Listener.*

The new Discussion Leadership Center at Syracuse University was established this fall to provide short courses and workshops for business, professional, and other community groups. According to the brochure, the center even hopes to attract groups of teachers. After glancing over the pictures showing an Adirondack mountain lodge that may be used for meetings, ST plans to organize a party to enroll. A polite letter to Frank Funk, director, may be rewarded by a copy of the center's booklet.

In October the Eighth Annual Conference on Speech Communication in Business and Industry was held in the Rackham Building at the University of Michigan. With over fifty businessmen from all areas of the state in attendance, the program focused on improving leadership and participation skills in conferences. Instructors for the meeting came from psychology, group dynamics, business administration, the extension service, the survey research center, the Ford Motor Company, and the speech department. Speech department representatives and their topics were: N. Edd Miller, "Achieving Effective Participation"; G. E. Densmore, "Public Speaking Skills"; H. W. Hildebrandt, "Listening in Conferences"; W. M. Sattler, "The Leader as a Communication Center"; and Hayden Carruth, "Creativity in Problem Solution." Edward Stasheff, Edgar Willis, Henry Austin, and J. B. Stevenson handled a television demonstration.

Remington Rand Univac of St. Paul sponsored a Workshop in Communications in August at a lakeside resort in Minnesota. A number of different lectures and practice sessions concentrated on speaking, listening, writing, and reading. Clifford Haga, William S. Howell, and Donald K. Smith of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis campus, and James I. Brown, Paul Cashman, and Ralph Nichols of the St. Paul campus were consultants.

In December, a Shop Talk notice indicated that Albert J. Croft is on leave from the speech department at Oklahoma University to serve as Director of the Center for Leadership Training in the Extension Division of the University. Further information indicates that a grant from the Fund for Adult Education has made it possible for the Center to sponsor a series of seminars in public responsibility for business and professional leaders in the state.

Only the University of Akron reports a program for labor. Members of the United Rubber Workers of America are studying effective speaking and parliamentary procedure on a non-credit basis on the Akron campus.

BE YE DOERS OF THE WORD. The Fund for Adult Education (established 1951 by the Ford Foundation) offers what may be sufficient to entice speech teachers from the classroom into the public forum—three awards of $1,000 each to be made for speeches (or articles) this year. The assignment, however, is limited; the subject of speeches submitted must be "public leadership." A leaflet from FAE stipulates this definition:

> For purposes of the Awards, the term "leadership" encompasses the whole range of positions in which executive decision and executive actions have public consequences. It would include, for example, elected and appointed executives in federal, state and municipal governments, school board members and college trustees, foundation officials, labor leaders, leaders of political parties, executives serving abroad, either in government or private positions, et cetera. On the other hand, the term "leadership"

in the Award context, excludes from consideration leadership whose force is primarily intellectual, spiritual, or artistic.

A question picked out of context from the leaflet may stimulate those who recall the answer suggested by Isocrates and Cicero who worried about the problem even in a non-space age: "What kind of education can best motivate individuals to assume the responsibilities of leadership and best equip them to understand the challenges of the times and meet them creatively and with informed devotion to the public welfare?"

Those undaunted by the implications of the FAE's definition may address inquiries concerning the awards to The Office of Information, The Fund for Adult Education, 200 Bloomingdale Road, White Plains, New York.

Appointments

Arlington State College, Texas: Jackson Davis.

Bowling Green University: Duane E. Tucker, assistant professor and head of the educational program in radio-television.

Carnegie Institute of Technology: Harriett Wallace, instructor; Kathleen Stafford, visiting lecturer; Carlo Mazzone, Mellon Lecturer in Stage Movement.

Louisiana College, Pineville: Frank Lewis.

Louisiana State University: L. Stanley Harms, assistant professor; Alban Varnado, New Orleans branch.

Morningside College: Fred Lee, Robert Quinn.

Mount Holyoke: Jane Blankenship, instructor.

New York University, Washington Square College: Elaine Rockstein.

North Texas State College: Stanley K. Hamilton.

Olivet Nazarene College: Athol McCombs, chairman of the department.

Paterson, New Jersey, State College: Bettie Sage Mandell, Kathryn Shirn, James McCarthy, assistant professors.

Pennsylvania State University: Robert E. Dunham, instructor; H. William Simington, instructor and director of the Pennsylvania Forensic League; Charles E. Reed, George Gurganus, and David M. Jabusch, temporary instructors.

Purdue University: Henry Spuehler, assistant professor; Avril Crabtree, occupation therapist in the clinic.

St. Cloud State College, Minnesota: Donald Dedmon, assistant professor and director of forensics.

San Francisco State College: Robert Darling, technical director of the Children's Theatre; Geoffrey Lardner, instructor.

Southeast Missouri State College: Larry E. Grisvard, production director; Frank W. Glann, technical director of the theater.

Southwest Texas State College: Betty Heard, instructor.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute: Joseph C. Mele.

State University of New York College of Education, Albany: Milton E. Kern, K. S. Narayana Rao, instructors.

State University of New York College of Education, Brockport: Carolyn Kohrs, assistant professor and director of debate; Ralph Sisson, assistant professor and director of the speech clinic.

State University of New York College of Education, Fredonia: Irvine Smith, associate professor; Eugene Klimek, instructor.

State University of New York College of Education, Geneseo: Harold B. Starbuck, associate professor and director of the clinic; John A. Davis, Raymond Lezak, associate professors.

State University of New York College of Education, Oneonta: Gilbert A. Schaye, associate professor; Robert D. Grosshans, assistant professor.

Syracuse University: Frank A. Gualtieri, Jr., assistant director of discussion and debate.

Texas Christian University: Richard P. Douthit, assistant professor; James Gray Saunders, assistant professor and director of the division of radio-television; Telete Lawrence, instructor.

Texas Technological College: Shirley M. Cadle, technical director of the theater.

University of Arkansas: A. Cleveland Harrison.

University of Hawaii: Ralph Vanderslice, instructor.

University of Houston: G. Jack Gravlee.

University of Maine: Arlin M. Cook, assistant professor; Jerry M. Anderson, Robert K. MacLauchlin, instructors.

University of Maryland: L. Denton Crews, Jr., Glen Joseph Wolfe, Bruce Waganer, James Armacost.

University of New Mexico: Wayne Bundy, associate professor.

University of North Dakota: William F. Rintelmann, assistant professor, director of the

speech and hearing clinic; Frank K. LaBan, instructor.

University of Oklahoma: Edward M. Brown, instructor and director of forensics.

University of Oregon: William R. McGraw, assistant director of theatre.

University of Portland: Marilyn Strickfaden, Alvin Keller, instructors.

University of Southern California: Mary C. McCall, Jr., former president of the Screen Writers Guild, to teach playwriting.

Wesleyan University: Arthur Hough and Bruce Markgraf.

West Virginia University: Ned Jay Christenson, instructor.

Promotions

Idaho State College: William Corbin, assistant professor.

Louisiana State University: Don F. Blakely, assistant professor.

Morningside College: Lola Jacobs, head of the department.

Paterson, New Jersey, State College: Ardell Elwell, professor and chairman of the department; William Formand, associate professor; Robert Leppert, assistant professor.

Queens College: Arthur J. Bronstein, associate professor.

San Diego State College: Sue Earnest, chairman of the department.

San Francisco State College: Clarence A. Miller, chairman of the drama department; J. Fenton McKenna, former chairman of the department, chairman of the creative arts division; Clarence A. Miller, professor; Richard Glyer, associate professor; Alex Flett, assistant professor.

Southwest Texas State College: Willard Booth, assistant professor.

State University of New York College of Education, Brockport: Lewis Hetler, professor.

State University of New York College of Education, Geneseo: John E. Paul, professor; Robert E. Sinclair, associate professor.

Texas College of Arts and Industries: Jack P. Clark, professor.

Tulane University: Dan W. Mullin, production supervisor of television.

University of Houston: Davis Larson, chairman of the drama department.

West Virginia University: Bernard B. Schlanger, professor.

Women's College of the University of North Carolina: Herman Middleton, associate professor.

Grants

John W. Keys, director of the speech and hearing clinic at Oklahoma University, reports the receipt of funds from the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation to support three traineeships.

Grants from the U. S. Office of Education have made it possible for Purdue University to appoint Kenneth Burk, University of Kentucky speech and hearing clinic, to a research assistantship to investigate the validity of pure tone audiometrics for public school pupils, and to appoint Frank Garfunkel, formerly of Boston University and Perkins Institute, to a research associateship to assist with the ASHA-Purdue nationwide study of public school speech and hearing therapy programs.

In addition to a grant of $39,661 by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation for the purpose of financing graduate courses and work, the University of Pittsburgh reports the following: to Jack Matthews and George H. Shames, $15,000 by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation for "A Study of Factors Related to the Learning of Post-Laryngectomy Speech"; to Aubrey Epstein, $20,038 by the Public Health Service, for development of a noise trauma susceptibility test; to Herbert Rubin, $2,300 by the National Institute of Neurological Disease and Blindness for a study, "Poststimulatory Improvement in Auditory Threshold"; and to George H. Shamus, funds from the University of Pittsburgh Educational and Cultural Exchange and the National Science Foundation to finance his trip to the Eleventh International Congress of Logopedics and Phoniatrics in London.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has made two grants to Queens College faculty: to Jon Eisenson, director of the speech center, $16,744 for one year to study language disfunctions and right cerebral damage; to Beatrice F. Jacoby, $47,000 for two years to study the role of non-verbal symbols in the education of the deaf.

Harry S. Novack, Rhode Island College of Education, has a grant from the U. S. Office of Education to explore the adaptation of clinical techniques for teaching brain-injured children for group classroom usage.

This is the first year of operation for the Discussion Leadership Center at Syracuse University which was established under a grant from the Fund for Adult Education. Two special conference rooms are being designed and equipped under the supervision of Frank Funk, the center's director.

A three year study of resistance to educational television, financed by a $173,000 grant under the National Defense Act, Title VII, is underway at the University of Oregon. John Shepherd, co-ordinator for KOAC-TV, is the speech department's representative for this cooperative project of the departments of sociology, political science, anthropology, and speech.

ON LEAVE

Brooklyn College: Mary Graham, sabbatical; Arthur Secord, sabbatical; Charles E. Parkhurst, sabbatical, teaching in Europe for the American Division of the University of Maryland.

Linfield College: Lester Schilling, to complete graduate studies.

Morehead State College, Kentucky: John Henry Lawton.

New York University, Washington Square College: Mary Pettas, to continue research on the speech of elderly persons under a grant from the Multi-Disciplinary Research Program on Ageing.

Pennsylvania State University: Elton S. Carter will be on a sabbatical this spring to continue his research into the potentialities of modern heuristic for research design. (Curious readers may see Professor Carter's article exemplifying heuristic pedagogy in *Today's Speech*, September 1959).

Queens College: Elizabeth G. Scanlan, for the year to study children's theater at the University of Hawaii.

Southwest Texas State College: Suzanne Pullon, to continue graduate study.

State University of New York College of Education, Fredonia: Solomon S. Simonson.

University of Maine: Gerald C. Beckwith, to study at Michigan State University on a Ford Foundation grant.

RETIREMENT. Mrs. Ottilie T. Seybolt, University of Oregon, has retired after having served the department of speech since 1928. In that year she was appointed head of drama work, a position she held until 1946 when she became associate director with Horace Robinson.

Among the many innovations Mrs. Seybolt brought to Oregon was the Greater Drama Series which concentrated on twelve periods and nationalities in the history of drama. The series was designed to give each student generation a resumé of the greatest dramatic works. Mrs. Seybolt specialized in the direction of Shakespearian and ancient drama.

DONATION. Oscar Russell, former head of the Ohio State University department of speech, has donated equipment valued at over $100,000 to the speech and hearing science division at the University of Maryland. The X-ray equipment donated to the division was used in treating Enrico Caruso for a voice imperfection. Other pieces of equipment once belonged to Russell's old friend, Thomas Edison.

NEW ASSOCIATION. Sixty persons were on hand in Columbia to organize the Missouri Speech and Hearing Association last October. Representatives from seventeen communities elected these officers: Thelma W. Trombly, University of Missouri, president; Frank D. Wilson, Special School District of St. Louis County, vice-president; Charles Schiefer, St. Louis League for the Hard of Hearing, secretary; and Lin Welch, Central Missouri State College, treasurer. Robert Goldstein, Jewish Hospital of St. Louis, was elected delegate to the ASHA House of State Delegates, and Evelyn Allen, Kansas City Public Schools, alternate.

NEW INDEX. A National Index on Deafness, Speech and Hearing has been established under support of Gallaudet College, the American Speech and Hearing Association, and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. The service began to publish abstracts this year. Further information may be obtained from Stephen P. Quigley, Director, National Index on Deafness, Speech and Hearing, Gallaudet College, Washington 2, D. C.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM. The novel idea that academic freedom is a right of the student is gaining currency. A news release from the American Council on Education "speaking for higher education as a whole" asserts "firm opposition to the disclaimer affidavit required of students who receive loans or fellowships under the National Education Act." The arguments the Council attaches to its statement of position have the same ring as those which professors use.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION. So many department reporters wrote that their colleagues had been appearing before congressional committees, that ST with thoughts of "are you now

or have you ever been . . ." determined to discover just who is up to what. He learned that teachers of the deaf, speech pathologists, audiologists, and trainers of persons to work in those areas are organizing to support Senate Joint Resolution 127 and House Joint Resolution 488 (86th Cong., 1st sess.). Each resolution is composed of two parts, the first of which deals with training teachers of the deaf and the second with training speech pathologists and audiologists. The proposed legislation will make available funds for teaching, equipment, and fellowships. In speech pathology and audiology aid will be limited to graduate programs and students. National committees, one in the Office of Education, for training teachers of the deaf and one in the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, for speech pathology and audiology, will administer the programs. Grants under the proposed programs are expected to approximate in amounts those awarded under the National Defense Education Act.

Buildings

Bowling Green State University has completed installation of radio and television studios in the new psychology-sociology-speech building. Included are facilities for WBGU-FM and closed-circuit television; both operations have been completely equipped.

Although Carnegie Tech's studio theatre has been sacrificed to make way for a new library building, a temporary studio theatre is being built. Our correspondent reports happily, however, that "plans are progressing for our new Dramatic Arts Center, which will incorporate somewhere in its three theatres all the ideas and plans of George Izenour." The trustees have voted a budget of $3,500,000 and marked $1,500,000 of development matching funds towards the project.

A new theatre seating 350 is being built at the City College of San Francisco.

A ground-breaking ceremony was held at Oberlin College on July 8, 1959, for a $350,000 addition to the theatre. The addition will provide space for a new experimental theatre, classrooms, seminars, speech clinic, radio studio, and additional dressing rooms. The present theatre, Sophronia Brooks Hall Auditorium, was completed in 1952 at a cost of $1,500,000.

Occidental College broke ground on October 27 for a new speech and theatre building. The $600,000 building will replace facilities built in 1938 when Occidental had half its present 1,400 enrollment.

The faculty at San Diego State College is enjoying the new speech building which houses "what has been called 'the finest college Television station in the West.'" A folder is available upon request.

The department of speech of the Texas College of Arts and Industries moved into its new building on October 1. In addition to offices and classrooms, the building has a fully equipped little theatre seating 244.

The Fine Arts Center which opened this fall at the University of Connecticut now houses the department of speech and drama. Facilities include a studio theatre seating ninety-eight, an arena theatre seating 140, a twenty room speech and hearing clinic, various offices, and seminar rooms.

In January, the King's Players of King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, moved into a new theatre which is designed to accommodate productions in conventional, arena, and flexible styles.

Curricula

Louisiana State University announces two developments. A linguistics program, sponsored jointly by the departments of English, foreign language, and speech, has been established for the M.A. degree. The doctorate in this area has been granted for several years. Speech courses are being offered for the first time this year at the New Orleans branch of the University.

Recognizing that many teachers who major in other areas may be asked to direct theater activities in the high school, Mankato State College, Minnesota, has initiated a new minor program in dramatic arts.

Paterson State College, New Jersey, established a department of speech in September. The department is responsible for preparing speech education majors and public school speech correctionists.

Effective this September, a basic speech course will be a requirement for every student at Pennsylvania State University.

Beginning in June, Purdue University will grant a Bachelor of Arts degree to students who major in any of the traditional arts and humanities. Previously Purdue has granted only the B.S.

Tulane University is in the first year of its new Ph.D. program in theatre.

The University of Florida is offering for the first time a graduate seminar in experimental

studies in public address and speech education. Alma Johnson Sarett will conduct the seminar.

The University of Southern California announces a restricted graduate training program for speech pathologists who wish to develop psychotherapeutic skills. The program may lead to the M.A. or Ph.D., or it may be undertaken independently of a degree objective. William H. Perkins, director of the speech-hearing clinic, is in charge of the program.

At Wesleyan University, students must take a test in "Oral English" before the end of their sophomore year. Those who fail must take a one semester course.

Back Talk

New ST intends to continue this section. For one issue we can heap all sins of commission or omission on ST[2]'s head. Unfortunately there are only two items, both of which fall under the mild-correction category. But in the future some faithful but irate or perplexed readers might wish to call ST to account publicly. Fair warning: mark all queries or complaints not intended for the speech world at large as "Private! Not for publication!"

Helene Blattner of Stanford University calls our attention to an error in the October 1959 number "which does no harm to anyone." In the personals "Jacobus ten Broek is listed as being 'of Stanford'. Dr. ten Broek is at Stanford at the Center for the Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences this year, but he is 'of the University of California at Berkeley. And presumably Woodrow J. Borah is serving as chairman at Berkeley during Professor ten Broek's leave."

Without mentioning the December 1959 issue which stated that Colorado State University has an M.A. program, a letter from chairman R. C. Ruechelle informs us that the Fort Collins department is offering a new Master of Arts in Teaching. "This differs from the regular M.A. program now offered in that credit toward the M.A.T. is earned only in content courses in the field of specialization. . . . It is a terminal degree for public school teachers in line with the trend to require five years of preparation for teaching in the secondary schools." Many schools now offer the degree, but Harvard was the first in 1936.

BOOK AUCTION. Here are the results of the Book Auction (see October issue XLV, 351). High bidder on *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, edited by W. Norwood Brigance, was Speech Department, Mississippi Southern College, Hattiesburg—$46.51. Jerald L. Banninga of Indiana University got the other three items, but it was close. He bid $6.73 for the copy of *QJS*, February 1958; $10.09 for *The Rhetorical Idiom;* $50.09 for Goodrich's *Select British Eloquence*. Next bid for the *Idiom* was $10.05. Two flexible bids for the Goodrich were entered, but could not be honored under the rules of sealed bids. One man wrote he "would pay almost any price for a Goodrich," and thought, if notified, he could cover any bid.

The $46.51 item was clear profit, since the volumes were a gift from a professor who retired last May. ST presented the full amount to him as a Christmas present at the Washington convention. The remaining profit, $40.04 was presented to SAA. To the twenty-two bidders who didn't get their item, regrets.

REPRINTING. W. Norwood Brigance of Wabash College has announced a reprinting of Volumes I and II, *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, which he edited in 1943. Copies will be available late this month from Russell & Russell, Inc., 80 East 11th Street, New York 3, New York. Price of the set is $15.00; 750 sets are being printed.

When, in November, we wrote the editor his volumes had brought $46.51 in the auction (see "Book Auction," above), he replied:

> I feel honored to be sold for $46.51, and even more honored to learn that someone from my home state of Mississippi did the buying. You will be surprised to learn that the studies are being reprinted. . . . The reproduction, by the way, is from the second impression, the edition you sold. The reprinting does not in any way reduce the value of the original—in fact should make it more desirable as a collectors item.

Notice

Contributors to *Today's Speech*

Editor-elect William S. Tacey requests that manuscripts for future issues of *Today's Speech*, a publication of the Speech Association of the Eastern States, be sent to him at the Department of Speech, the University of Pittsburgh. Articles concerning all phases of speech are welcome. They should be written for laymen in a "popular" style.

Robert T. Oliver of Penn State ends his term as editor with the April issue. Retiring editor

Oliver has served continuously since volume one, number one, April 1953.

Theatre Schedules

Bowling Green University: *Harvey, The Petrified Forest, S. S. Glencairn, The Admirable Crichton, Inherit the Wind.*

Carnegie Institute of Technology: *Camille, The Rehearsal,* a program of *Sweeney Agonistes, A Full Moon in March, Antigone, Romeo and Juliet.*

Carthage College: *All My Sons, The Chairs and Victims of Duty, The Pajama Game, A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

Central Connecticut State College: *Brother Rat, Blood Wedding, Say, Darling, Chalk Circle,* a 14th century Chinese tragi-comedy.

Elmira College: *Picnic, Years Ago, The Medium, Madwoman of Chaillot.*

Iowa State University: *The Heiress, The Importance of Being Earnest, Detective Story.*

Kalamazoo College: *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Mary Stuart, The Madwoman of Chaillot, Look Back in Anger.*

King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: *Major Barbara, Hamlet,* Pirandello's *Henry IV.*

Lehigh University: *Witness for the Prosecution.*

Linfield College: *Inherit the Wind, Teahouse of the August Moon,* a faculty production.

Louisiana State University: *The Heiress, The Crucible, The Devil's Disciple, Romeo and Juliet.*

Memphis State University: *The Skin of Our Teeth, The Emperor's New Clothes, La Traviata, The Tempest.*

Morehead State College, Kentucky: *The Skin of Our Teeth, The Kids*—a pre-Broadway showing, *Medea.*

Morningside College: *The Adding Machine.*

Northwestern University: *Endgame, Caesar and Cleopatra, The Comedy of Errors, Don Juan, Awake and Sing, The Italian Straw Hat.*

Oberlin College: *Caesar and Cleopatra, A Month in the Country, The Cave Dwellers.*

Occidental College: *Harvey, The School for Scandal, The Three Sisters.*

Pomona College: *A View from the Bridge.*

Purdue University: *The Rainmaker, The Diary of Anne Frank, Desire Under the Elms, Annie Get Your Gun, The Imaginary Invalid.*

Rhode Island College of Education: *The Crucible.*

St. Cloud State College, Minnesota: *Our Town, The Glass Menagerie, Wonderful Town.*

San Diego State College: *Tiger at the Gates, Lady from the Sea, Mice and Men, Tartuffe.*

San Francisco State College: *Misalliance, An Enemy of the People, Kiss Me, Kate, Murder in the Cathedral, Time Remembered.*

Southeast Missouri State College: *Mr. Roberts, Our Town, Visit to a Small Planet.*

Southwest Texas State College: *The Diary of Anne Frank, Antigone.*

State University of New York College of Education, Albany: *The Cave Dwellers.*

State University of New York College of Education, Geneseo: *Mr. Roberts, The Diary of Anne Frank,* a Shakespearian production.

State University of New York College of Education, Oneonta: *The Hasty Heart, Ah, Wilderness.*

Texas College of Arts and Industries: *Romeo and Juliet, The Glass Menagerie, The Second Shepherd's Play.*

Texas Technological College: *The Blood Wedding.*

University of Akron: *Pygmalion, The Madwoman of Chaillot, A Clearing in the Woods, The Sea Gull.*

University of Arkansas: *The Happy Time, Lady Precious Stream, Six Characters in Search of an Author, The Clock* and *The Impresario, Peter Pan, The Solid Gold Cadillac, Gilgamesh,* a dance-verse drama.

University of Delaware: *The Cherry Orchard, Visit to a Small Planet, You Can't Take It with You, The Matchmaker, Much Ado about Nothing.*

University of Florida: *The Adding Machine, The Lady's Not for Burning.*

University of Houston: *All My Sons, The Petrified Forest, Dream Girl, As You Like It.*

University of Illinois, Chicago Undergraduate Division: *Not for Children.*

University of Maine: *Born Yesterday, The Pajama Game.*

University of Maryland: *Come Back, Little Sheba, The Pajama Game, The Children's Hour.*

University of Oregon: *Wonderful Town, Look Back in Anger, A View from the Bridge, The King and I, Brand, The Matchmaker.*

University of Southern California: *Finnegan's Wake, Amphitryon 38, Roshomon.*

University of Toledo: *Sabrina Fair, The Birds, Lilliom, Kiss Me, Kate.*

Valparaiso University: *Ah, Wilderness, Under Milkwood, Arms and the Man, Kiss Me, Kate.*

Washington State University: *Bus Stop, Blithe Spirit, Anastasia, The Matchmaker.*

Women's College of the University of North Carolina: *The Boy Friend, The Importance of Being Earnest, The Jacaranda Tree.*

Yankton College: *Le Bourgeois Gentlihomme, Taming of the Shrew.*

Theatre Notes

TOURS. Sponsored by the USO and AETA, eleven students and four faculty members of the Theatre of Women's College of the University of North Carolina toured a production of *The Women* to American defense installations in the Pacific area. The troup travelled over 22,000 miles in giving performances in Japan, Korea, Okinawa, the Philippines, and Hawaii. This project was incorporated in the summer session at the college, and the students received six semester hours of credit. Apparently unfatigued, the college plans several tours during the school year, but will stay in North Carolina, playing *The Boy Friend, The Jacaranda Tree,* and *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp.*

Several other colleges have informed ST that they intend to tour their states. The Maryland Drama Wing of the University of Maryland will play *Scattered Showers* for more than sixty audiences. The Dramatic Society of the State University College of Education at Geneseo will tour New York high schools with two one-acts, *Suppressed Desires* and *John Doe,* this fall; next spring the Eighth Annual Elementary School Road Show will feature *Jack and the Bean Stalk.* St. Cloud State College will take *Our Town, The Glass Menagerie,* and *Wonderful Town* before Minnesota high schools.

NEW PLAYS. Several notes from correspondents remind ST that colleges and universities take special pride and responsibility in encouraging playwrights. Many students are able to see their work produced. For example, Bill Reardon of the State University of Iowa, informs us that two originals were staged this fall, Richard Stockton's *The Trial of Captain John Brown* and Robert Bonnard's *They Saw the Whole Zoo.* These plays, according to our informant, "were not only favorably received during their runs in Iowa City, but have already been either produced or scheduled for production in Louisville, Baltimore, and Cleveland." Sari Scott's *An Old Beat-Up Woman* will be produced at Iowa this spring.

At Michigan State University, Pauline Schmookler, a former student, saw her *Face of a Stranger* produced in a two level arena setting by Theta Alpha Phi.

New ST is impressed by the fact that senior faculty members are willing to invest their time in and identify themselves with productions of student written plays. Two cases: at Purdue William Hardy will direct Ned S. Bobkoff's *The Posers* this spring; at Minnesota Lowell Manfull's *A Light in the Deepening Dark* was directed by Frank M Whiting.

The prize-winning Ford Foundation play, *The Moon Besieged* by Seyril Schochen, was presented at Stanford this fall. Miss Schochen and Mr. Ben Cooper, a professional actor who appeared in the play, were artists-in-residence in the Stanford department during the production.

VALUE. Ammunition in the never ending battle to determine who is and who is not academically respectable is furnished in a notice from the University of Southern California. This fall the Department of Philosophy presented a series of lectures based on values as seen through the eves of various schools of philosophy. The philosophical concepts were presented by members of the department, but the audience was first given concrete illustration of the concepts by viewing scenes from plays directed by members of the drama department.

W. H. Werkmeister, chairman of the Department of Philosophy, said in explaining the program, "There are three basically different modes of understanding: (1) the mode of science which is essentially quantitative; (2) the mode of philosophical abstractions or conceptual vision; (3) the mode of the arts—concrete and intuitive mode of comprehending. "In the arts, particularly in drama, has the most concrete been presented, as far as human existence is concerned. In pointing up and intensifying conflicts of values, drama not only reflects but illumines our human scene. It provides the great crucible in which values are tested. Problems with which the philosopher deals in the abstract are here presented in dynamic concreteness. Drama is an experiment in value conflicts. Philosophy is an interpretation of that experiment, as it is an interpretation of the whole of man's existence. Drama and philosophy are, thus, complementary in our understanding of values."

The plays and the topics of the lectures were: *Golden Boy,* The Problem of Self-Realization; *The Happy Time,* To Tell the Truth or to Lie?; *Escape,* Value in Perspective; *Elizabeth the Queen,* Love and the Struggle for

Power; *Antigone,* Man's Law vs. Divine Law; *Hedda Gabler,* a Challenge to Social Morality.

FORENSICS. Our desk is piled high with reports of various sorts of tournaments and workshops, but following the tradition of the past six years, ST will report only out-of-the-ordinary forensic occurrences on the premise that *The Register* of the American Forensic Association and the various fraternal magazines report forensic activities nearly as assiduously as the professional journalists covered the Khrushchev visit.

International debates have added flavor (some of which has spilled over into the pages of this journal) to American forensics for some decades. This year Cambridge is touring. Many colleges report meeting the English team.

One British influence may be observed in the increasing number of American colleges that report undertaking parliamentary debating programs. The University of Akron Forensic Union, for example, reports that a spirited debate on the TV quiz scandals drew a front page picture and story in the *Akron Beacon Journal.* The University of Minnesota will entertain the University of Manitoba in a parliamentary debate in February. The University of Hawaii debaters, under coach Don Klopf, have been touring the western states. They participated in a televised parliamentary debate at the University of Washington. Hawaii is sponsoring a tournament this spring and expects fifteen mainland schools to pay them a visit.

For the sake of reporting a neologism, ST calls his readers' attention to a combination tournament and clinic-workshop sponsored by Lehigh University this fall. Sixteen schools attended Lehigh's first "clinament."

Radio and Television

From Marietta College, Ohio: "Last year's experiment in teaching part of the required course in speech fundamentals by television having proved successful, the program is being continued this year." Three new classrooms have been added to the circuit, enabling four hundred students to view the general lectures.

A series of newspaper clippings furnished upon ST's request by Hugo Hellman indicates that one of the most popular programs presented last year by WXIX, Milwaukee's CBS-TV affiliate, was Father John J. Walsh's "The Time Between." The director of the Marquette University Players undertook to analyze and relate the present manifestations of human problems to timeless values by using the perspective gained in examining the work of playwrights, producers, and performers.

Robert T. Oliver, Pennsylvania State University, is appearing regularly on television as chairman of twelve short discussions on the general question: what is communication? These filmed programs are a part of the "Men and Ideas" series presented by the university. Harold P. Zelko and Elton S. Carter of the speech department are among the discussants.

The University of Connecticut department of speech and drama is producing a series of thirteen taped television productions on WTIC-TV, Hartford. The program, "How to See a Play," presents five members of the theatre staff on various phases of production. Film, sound and silent, slides, models, scenes from plays, and other visual materials are being used to give the audience a better understanding of theatre.

Television at the University of Michigan now includes four separate closed circuits. Under the direction of Garnet R. Garrison of the speech department, the English Language Institute is now using a camera and giant TV screen for instruction. Purchased with a grant from the Ford Foundation, this new equipment increases opportunities for teachers to observe a class being taught. Members of the Michigan department played over thirty-eight different roles in the University Television Series, "Legacy." The series attempted to capture, through the media of drama, song, dance, sculpture, and music, the cultural traditions which the world has inherited.

Appearing over KTCA-TV, two members of the University of Minnesota's department of speech and theatre arts account for an hour's air time weekly. Ernest Henrikson's "Guiding Your Child's Speech Development" is aimed primarily toward the parent and teacher. David Thompson reads and talks on "The Sound of Literature" and occasionally invites guest readers to appear. The most popular guest has been professor emeritus Frank Rarig.

In cooperation with the newly instituted "TV Junior College of the Air," the University of Oregon offers two special courses twice a week. Kaslon Zoller produces and directs "Shakespeare" and Arthur Jacobs is responsible for "Economics." In addition to the classroom television programs aired from the campus studios, John R. Shepherd is producing and directing a program designed to offer

an educational program in an entertainment format. "Bon Amusement," a French language program "using students and French instructors competing for the Grand Prix Award, exchange comments and compliments for thirty minutes weekly over the state television station KOAC."

Mary Roberts and Robert Newman, co-directors of the William Pitt Debating Union at the University of Pittsburgh, continue to produce "Face the People" on WQED-TV. Students and guests from business, labor, government, and the professions engage in some rather warm discussion.

The Theater of the Women's College of the University of North Carolina produces a regular program called "The Hour of Thespis" over WUNC-TV, the university station. Maynard French is in charge of the series.

Reading Hours

Georgetown University Mask and Bauble presented a reading performance of *The Ascent of F-6* just before the Christmas holidays.

At Morningside College an all school convocation heard a choral reading of selections from *The Bomb that Fell on America.*

Earl Harlan, Purdue University, and his wife presented an evening of interpretative reading, "From the Pen of Englishmen," as a part of the Lyceum Program sponsored by the speech club of Olivet Nazarene College. Our Olivet correspondent reports that the club has nearly a hundred members.

Inter-departmental cooperation was the key to a reading of *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* at the University of Hawaii—the cast featured twelve faculty members from five different departments. Linda Watson is in charge of the regular reading hour programs at Hawaii.

At Syracuse University this fall a Readers Theatre production of *The Cocktail Party* was given in the University Chapel. Following the performance, members of the department of religion held a panel discussion of some of the play's themes.

The Readers Workshop of the University of Washington has presented two programs this fall under the direction of Wilma H. Grimes: "A Sunday Evening Reading Hour" and "Tales and Verse of Thomas Hardy." In February Johan A. Strindberg's *Erik XIV* will be presented; the translation, the first in English, is by Walter Johnson of the University. Stephen Crane's *The Open Boat* is scheduled for April and Maxwell Anderson's *Barefoot in Athens,* for May.

Personals

Allen P. Bloomquist, Idaho State College, has been elected a member of the advisory committee for the Rocky Mountain Theatre Conference representing college and university theatre and has been appointed Idaho representative for the International Theatre Celebration.

Robert S. Brubaker, Pennsylvania State University, has been invited to present a paper at the First International Congress of Phoneticians to be held in Tokyo in April.

Roger Busfield, Michigan State University, will leave in January to become Director of Special Events for the Oldsmobile Division of General Motors.

The off-Broadway production, *Leave It To Jane,* is directed by Lawrence Carra, Carnegie Tech.

Paul Cashman, of the University of Minnesota, St. Paul campus, was awarded "The Little Red Oil Can," a traditional award for outstanding teaching. A campus-wide poll determines the recipient of this honor.

Melvin Davidson has returned to Nebraska Wesleyan University as technical director of the Enid Miller Theatre after a year's leave of absence to work on his doctorate.

Our correspondent for the University of Pittsburgh reports that Leo G. Doerfler has assumed several new responsibilities: chairman, committee on examination for certification in audiology, ASHA, and national consultant in acoustical audiology for the Veterans Administration.

Franklyn Elliott, director of speech therapy for the Central School District, Seacliff, New York, has been awarded a license to practice as a psychologist by the State Board of Examiners.

Paul Hostetler has returned to Tulane after a year's leave of absence to continue his graduate studies.

Charley A. Leistner has returned to Oberlin after a sabbatical studying the newly opened Alben Barkley Papers at the University of Kentucky.

E. James Lennon, on leave from Washington State University, addressed the International Congress of Logopedics and Phoniatrics in August and spent the fall semester touring Europe.

James M. Leonard is back at New York State College of Education, Albany, after a year of graduate work at Cornell.

Jack Matthews, University of Pittsburgh, is a member of the policy and planning committee of the American Association for Cleft Palate Rehabilitation.

J. Edward McEvoy, Syracuse University, attended the Congress of Logopedics and Phoniatrics in London last August. Before and after the congress, he toured in Great Britain and the continent.

Charles Pedrey, Michigan State University, has become a member of the professional advisory board to the United Cerebral Palsy Association of Michigan.

Norman D. Philbrick, head of the department of speech and drama at Stanford, has been elected Honorary Life Fellow of the International Institute of Arts and Letters; he also has been appointed to the management committee of the International Federation of Theatre Research.

Ralph N. Schmidt, department chairman at Utica College, spent twenty-nine days this fall managing a successful campaign for mayor of Utica by Republican Frank Dulan. Manager Schmidt's duties included speech writing and coaching the candidate for television appearances.

George H. Shames, University of Pittsburgh, is chairman of the research committee of the American Association of Cleft Palate Rehabilitation.

Max D. Steer, director of the Purdue Speech and Hearing Clinic, was awarded a special Rehabilitation Research Fellowship by the U. S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation to study world-wide mutual assistance program needs in speech and hearing disorders. He has also been elected to the board of directors of the new National Index of Deafness, Speech and Hearing.

William S. Tacey, University of Pittsburgh, has been elected president of the Pennsylvania division of AAUP and to the council of the state and regional conferences.

Robert West of Brooklyn College was one of a panel of seven speech pathologists who took part in a special conference on stuttering therapy at Nassau during Christmas week.

Convention Supplement

Many association members were unable for various reasons to attend the National Convention and even some who did attend may be interested in the report and impressions which follow, prepared by a deputy. The final sentence is directed at ST3, who, sadly, must be numbered among the non-attenders.

The annual Speech and Theatre Convention which met December 27-30 in our nation's capital was sponsored by the Speech Association of America, the American Educational Theatre Association, the National Society for the Study of Communication, the American Forensic Association, and the National University Extension Association. Attendance compared favorably with that of recent years:

1955	Los Angeles	1250
1956	Chicago	1615
1957	Boston	1205
1958	Chicago	1690
1959	Washington	1604

Enroute to the convention some of us had the new experience of traveling in the B&O slumbercoach, the poor man's pullman. Others, journeying from Cincinnati through West Virginia, had their train derailed. Good weather justified the faith of the optimists who came by car. Our wealthy friends reported very satisfactory airplane rides.

Convention facilities at the Statler Hilton Hotel provided for a compactness which may be regarded as an advantage or a disadvantage, depending upon one's point of view. Seeing long-lost friends was easy; getting close enough for conversation was something else again. The size of meeting rooms was excellent in most instances; they were large enough to seat all (with a few exceptions), and small enough to suggest a lively interest.

Other hotel features came in for some criticism. A surprising number of confirmed reservation requests were apparently misplaced, and prices were often high, for the academic—one single room sold for $18.50 per night.

Registrants attended business meetings on Sunday and on Monday and Tuesday evenings. The confirmed "meeters" could take in six interest group meetings on Sunday, three on Monday, and three on Tuesday by moving from group to group each hour on the hour.

The Legislative Assembly met in four sessions for five hours on Sunday to pass eleven action reports, to hear a larger number of information reports, and to deliberate upon miscellaneous items of business. The question of certification of secondary school teachers commanded high interest and much time. The recommendation of the Committee on Time

and Place that the 1964 convention be held in Chicago in December was approved by the Legislative Assembly.

Other meetings included the Administrative Council, the Committee on Committees, the Nominating Committee, the Committee on Professional Ethics and Standards, publication staff meetings, the Central States Speech Association Advisory Council, Delta Sigma Rho Executive Council, the National Collegiate Players, the National Forensic League Policy Conference, a Pi Kappa Delta general meeting, and the Tau Kappa Alpha Council meeting. In short, registrants had a wide variety of business meetings to select from.

Those who were able to resist the lure of business meetings, the attraction of Washington sightseeing, and the stimulation of the seminars held in the Hide-a-Way, the coffee shops, and the smoke-filled hotel rooms had sixty-one sectional programs to consider. Since even the most persistent conventioneer could attend only eleven such programs, no single evaluator can generalize very far. The people with whom this reporter has talked, however, agree with him that the convention maintained a rather high level.

The Washington locale influenced the program. Those who appeared on the program included three U. S. Senators (Wayne Morse of Oregon, William Proxmire of Wisconsin, and Jennings Randolph of West Virginia), two U. S. Representatives (Oren Harris of Arkansas and Frank Thompson of New Jersey), an assistant parliamentarian of the U. S. Senate, representatives from the political parties, administrators from the Departments of State and Agriculture, the U. S. Office of Education, the International Cooperation Administration, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the Air Force, the Federal Communication Commission, television producers from the Washington, D. C., area, and officials from the AFL-CIO and the NAM.

An especially interesting program was the "Debut" of five younger scholars. The convention program described their qualifications:

> These papers were chosen from those submitted in a national competition. Anyone was eligible to submit a paper on a subject in Rhetoric and Public Address if he was a member of SAA, had not previously appeared on a national SAA program, and had not published an article in *QJS*, *SM*, or *ST* (or comparable journals in other fields) before July 31, 1959.

The savants who made their debut and showed excellent promise in the process were Lloyd F. Bitzer, Dennis G. Day, C. M. Statham, Joseph W. Wenzel, and Harry Zavos.

A conventionist who came without a speech manuscript, Heath Meriwether of Artcraft Press, *QJS* printer, gave one of the prize impromptu exhibitions. At the NUEA dinner he was given a surprise citation and a scroll by Bower Aly, executive secretary of the NUEA Committee on Discussion and Debate Materials. Mr. Meriwether, who operates a union shop, was urged on by his companion to the left, Clarence K. Streit of *Union Now*, and his tablemate to the right, Mark Starr of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Artcraft has published NUEA's *Discussion and Debate Manual* since the beginning, twenty-eight years.

By action of Council, Robert C. Jeffrey of Indiana University was elected new SAA executive secretary, to take office July 1. The present secretary, Owen Peterson of Louisiana State University and his predecessors have accumulated so many files, addressographs and such that $2000 is being allowed in the budget for transportation of materials from Baton Rouge to Bloomington.

As might be expected in a Washington convention, most of the conventioners found some time for sightseeing by means of formal tours or informal strolls. One of the latter turned up the scene of the Rockefeller for President Committee just after its man had withdrawn from the race. The large Rockefeller for President sign carried a smaller footnote in the window—For Rent.

Coming home from the convention several of us shared a table in the diner with a man who turned out to be a member of the ghostwriting team of FDR in 1943, a George Patterson who now teaches American history in an Ohio high school. Our conversation, interesting and informative, reminded us once again that not all of our convention learning takes place in scheduled ways.

See you in St. Louis next December!

WAYNE E. BROCKRIEDE
Ad Hoc Deputy Shop Talk

Louis Michael Eich, 1888-1959

Louis Michael Eich, University of Michigan, emeritus, died after a long illness on November 24, 1959, in Winter Park, Florida, two days after his seventy-first birthday.

Professor Eich was born November 22, 1888, at Cincinnati, Ohio. He earned the A.B. (1912), A.M. (1914), and Ph.D. (1923) degrees at the University of Michigan. He began his teaching in 1912 as an instructor at Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, and the following year (1913-1914) was an instructor in English at Ann Arbor High School. From 1914 to 1917 he was instructor in public speaking at the University of Michigan. Except for a year as an instructor in public speaking at the Ohio State University (1917-1918) and for a one year assignment at the Grand Rapids Junior College (1920-1921), Professor Eich's professional life was identified with the University of Michigan. In the department of speech he rendered valuable service on departmental committees. He was chairman and member of many doctoral committees, both in his department and in other departments. For twenty-five years he represented the University of Michigan on the committee of the Northern Oratorical League. He retired with the title Associate Professor Emeritus on November 22, 1954.

Professor Eich's long and conscientious service was not confined to classroom teaching. In the university he served as secretary of the summer session for fifteen years (1933-1948). In this capacity he came into contact with thousands of teachers throughout the nation and played a significant role in the growth of the summer session. As chairman of the committee on university lectures for seventeen years (1935-1952), he showed extraordinary patience and tact in dealing with the problems that inevitably confronted him and the committee. He was also active in SAA, served as Executive Secretary (1927), as a member of the Committee on Research in American Public Address (1934-1942), the Executive Council (1941-1942), and Vice-President of the organization from 1941-1942.

In addition to writing articles for professional speech journals, Professor Eich was co-author (with Lionel G. Crocker) of *Oral Reading*, published in 1947, with a second edition in 1955. He contributed articles to *Studies in the Art of Interpretation* and *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*.

Professor Eich was highly regarded by his students. He was a stimulating teacher, generous of his time, and especially interested in being a helpful guide to his students. His career was distinguished by his contagious love of people, by the excellence of his scholarship, by the devotion of his students and colleagues, and by the interest and loyalty he gave to the University of Michigan.

L. LaMont Okey
William M. Sattler
University of Michigan

Lane Cooper, 1875-1959

Lane Cooper, John Wendell Anderson professor of English language and literature, emeritus, Cornell University, died November 27, 1959, at his home in Ithaca. Professor Cooper was born December 14, 1875, in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He received an A.B. from Rutgers University in 1896, an M.A. degree from Yale University in 1898, and a Ph.D. degree from Leipzig in 1901. Rutgers conferred the Litt.D. degree in 1921, and Wesleyan University the L.H.D. in 1943. He began his teaching career at Cornell in 1902, and continued there until his retirement in 1943.

Professor Cooper's writing, editing, and translating are widely known. Probably his most read works in speech and criticism are his translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, and *Theories of Style*, originally published in 1907, but expanded in 1952 under the title of *The Art of the Writer*. He was a leader in the revival of rhetorical history and criticism in this century. Although a prolific scholar and writer, he regarded himself as primarily a teacher. His students, many of whom are teachers of speech, thought him a magnificent teacher.

INTEREST GROUP OFFICERS—1960

Executive Secretary Peterson, in herculean effort, has supplied the names of all interest group officers. If you want to join a group, write to the secretary. The vice-chariman will welcome your suggestions for next year's program.

Administrative Policies and Practices

Chairman: Gordon F. Hostettler
Vice-Chairman: George Bohman
Secretary: C. Raymond Van Dusen
Advisory Committee: Donald Streeter, Ralph McGinnis, Jeffery Auer

Delegate to Legislative Assembly: Robertson Strawn
Representative to Committee on Ethics: Brooks Quimby

American Forensic Association
C: James H. McBath
V-C: Nicholas M. Cripe
S: Wofford Gardner
A: Austin Freeley, Herbert James, Robert Newman
D: Robert Kully
R: William Clark

Business and Professional Speaking
C: Raymond Ross
V-C: Carl Pitt
S: Frank E. X. Dance
A: James Holm, Harold Zelko, Thomas Dahle
D: N. B. Beck
R: Frank Funk

Discussion and Group Methods
C: Thorrel B. Fest
V-C: Martin Andersen
S: Robert Cathcart
A: William Sattler, Donald Smith, William Howell
D: Kim Giffin
R: Frank Haiman

General Semantics and Related Methodologies
C: William A. Conboy
V-C: Charles Redding
S: Parke G. Burgess
A: Elwood Murray, Merton Babcock, Elton S. Carter
D: William J. Elsen
R: John K. Brilhart

High School Discussion and Debate
C: J. M. Hill
V-C: Maurice E. Swanson
S: Una Lee Voigt
A: Malcolm Bump, Gene Duckworth, Marguerite Ramsey
D: Ivan Rehn
R: Emil Pfister

History of Speech Education
C: Milton J. Wiksell
V-C: Goodwin Berquist
S: Paul E. Ried
A: Edyth Renshaw, Marceline Erickson, John T. Rickey
D: Milton J. Wiksell
R: Giles W. Gray

Interpretation
C: Keith Brooks
V-C: Chloe Armstrong
S: Francine Merritt
A: Kathryn Mulholland, Elbert Bowen, Martin Cobin
D: Chloe Armstrong
R: Melvin R. White

Parliamentary Procedure
C: Thomas A. Hopkins
V-C: Emogene Emery
S: Yetta Mitchell
A: H. L. Emory, Emogene Emery, Paul Carmack
D: Thomas A. Hopkins
R: Paul Carmack

Personal and Social Psychology
C: William Sattler
V-C: R. S. Goyer
S: Raymond Smith
A: Wallace C. Fotheringham, Donald S. Kirk, Jack Matthews
D: Paul Holtzman
R: Franklin H. Knower

Radio-Television-Film
C: James E. Lynch
V-C: Barton Griffith
S: Robert P. Crawford
A: John P. Highlander, Herbert A. Seltz, Edgar E. Willis
D: Tom C. Battin
R: David Woods

Rhetoric and Public Address
C: Frederick Haberman
V-C: Robert Gunderson
S: Hollis White
A: Marie Hochmuth, Robert Clark, Waldo Braden
D: Albert Croft
R: Margaret Wood

Speech and Hearing Disorders
C: Bernard Schlanger
V-C: James Kelley
S: Richard Ham
A: Dorathy Eckelmann, Charlotte Cleeland, Sheila G. Morrison
D: John Wiley
R: Ruth Becky Irwin

Speech for Foreign and Bilingual Students
C: James W. Abel
V-C: Paul D. Holtzman
S: Joseph C. Wetherby
A: A. T. Cordray, Klonda Lynn
D. Joseph C. Wetherby
R: C. K. Thomas

Speech for Religious Workers
C: Lowell G. McCoy
V-C: DeWitte T. Holland